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Iconography of VAINĀYAKĪ

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FRONTISPIECE

VAINĀYAKĪ,
Chauhān, 10th cent. A.D.
Harshanatha, Sikar,
Rajasthan (under worship).

Courtesy :
Prof. Mary C. Lanius Denver
U.S.A.

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वागीशाद्याः सुमनसः सर्वार्थानामुपक्रमे ।
यां न त्वा कृतकृत्याः स्युः तां नमामि गजाननाम् ॥

'I adore the goddess Gajānanā (Vaināyakī) whose worship at the time of starting all new ventures assured success even to Brahmā and others'.

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Affectionately

to

My Elder Brother

ŚRĪ Y. N. SHARMA

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FOREWORD

It is really gratifying to record that Dr. B. N. Sharma has been working steadily in the field of Indian Art and has already established himself by his books on *Revanta* (1975) and *Sadāśiva* (1976). He has now taken up the *Iconography of Vainayakī,* a theme on which there is not much literary or sculptural evidence. The endeavour to bring together all the available evidences cogently is a commendable performance. He has posed a problem and thrown a challenge. I am sure the book will be well received and stimulate further search and research.

Janmashtami
New Delhi
25th August, 1978

N. R. Banerjee

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PREFACE

Vainãyakī or Gaṇeśānī, the *Śakti* of Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa, is a comparatively less known goddess in Indian iconography. Even as the female energy of Vināyaka, one of the five major gods of the Hindu pantheon, her worship was not much popular in ancient India. It was probably due to the rise of the Gāṇapatya cult, Yoginī worship and Tāntricism, that Vainãyakī also came to be regarded as an important female deity during the early mediaeval period. Some *Purāṇas* and other scriptures mention Vainãyakī in the list of the Yoginīs and other goddesses. Several Jaina and Buddhist literary works also enumerate interesting details about the goddess.

The well-known Chaunsaṭha-Yoginī temples at Rikhian, Bheraghat, Hirapur and Ranipur-Jhariyal enshrine the images of Vainãyakī along with other Yoginīs. A few sculptures and bronzes discovered in various parts of India prove beyond doubt that she was also worshipped as a cult divinity by her devotees. Besides these, Vainãyakī as a Buddhist Tāntric goddess Gaṇapatihṛdyā has also been found represented in the Tāntric paintings from Nepal.

An attempt has been made in the present monograph to bring together from different sources all the relevant material concerning Vainãyakī in the light of the latest discoveries. It is hoped that the book will prove useful to all the students and researchers

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interested in the study of Vaināyakī, the Yoginī cult and Tāntricism prevailing in India during the mediaeval period.

I am deeply indebted to Śrī C. Sivaramamurti for his valuable suggestions. I am also greatly obliged to Dr. N. R. Banerjee, Director, National Museum, New Delhi, for his encouraging Foreword to this book.

I am grateful to Prof. Mary C. Lanius for sending me a colour slide of Vaināyakī, still being worshipped at Sikar; I have reproduced it in the book. I am beholden to Prof. Gritli v. Mitterwallner for showing me a rare bronze image of Vaināyakī from Kerala in Munich and later making its photographs available for publication.

My thanks are also due to Śrī L. A. Narain, Dr. Chhaya Bhattacharyya, Km. Arundhoti Banerji, Śrī Bal Krishna, Km. Pratibha Kalia, Śrī Bhagwanji Choube, Śrī Bhagwat Sahi and Śrī Mohan Lal for their kind help in the preparation of the book and its illustrations. Śrī N. Shah and Śrī Ranjit Gupta have prepared several photographs, for which I am thankful to them.

I sincerely thank Śrī Shakti Malik for publishing the book with care and zeal.

B. N. Sharma

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6th September, 1978

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VAINĀYAKĪ

Vaināyakī, also known as Vināyakī, Vighneśvarī, Gaṇeśānī, Gaṇeśvarī, Gajānanā, Gaṇapatihṛdayā, Śrī-Aiṅgiṇī, etc., in various Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist literary works and epigraphs, is the *Śakti* or the female energy of Vināyaka, Gaṇeśa, Gajānana or Gaṇapati, the elephant-headed god, equally adored by the followers of different ancient Indian religious sects. Though the origin and early development of the concept of Vaināyakī is not yet clearly known, it appears that by the early mediaeval period, when Gaṇeśa, the god of wisdom and success, came to be regarded as one of the five major deities of Hinduism,[1] the worship of his *Śakti*, Vaināyakī also became popular among the masses. H.D. Bhattacharya also feels that "even a *Śakti* of Gaṇeśa (Gaṇeśānī) was subsequently conceived when Gaṇeśa became a major deity".[2]

In the Purāṇas

The elephant-headed goddess referred to as Gajānanā, occupies the first place in the list given in the 45th chapter of the *Kāśī-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa,* where, in reply to a question by Vyāsa, Skanda gives him the names of the *Chaunsaṭha*-Yoginīs.[3] The *Matsya Purāṇa,* referring to the names of two hundred goddesses, calls her Vaināyakī.[4] But none of these names occur in the list of the Yoginīs mentioned in the *Agni Purāṇa.*[5]

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In the Devī-Sahasranāma

The *Devī-Sahasranāma*, which mentions one thousand names of the goddess, also refers three names of Gaṇeśānī, viz. Vināyakī, Lambodarī and Gaṇeśvarī.[6]

In the Śilparatna

D. Bhattacharya has published a literary description of the deity (here mentioned as Śakti-Gaṇapati) from the *Śilparatna* by Śrīkumāra, a sixteenth century Brāhmaṇa hailing from Kerala. It is as follows:

Atha Śakti-Gaṇapatiḥ-
Dvābhyāṃ vibhrājamānaṃ drutakanaka-
mahāśṛṅkhalābhyaṃ karābhyāṃ
Vījapūrādiśumbhaddaśabhujalalitam
pañchabījasvarūpam /
Sandhyāsindūravarṇaṃ stanabharaṇamitaṃ
tuṇḍilaṃ sannitambaṃ
Kaṇṭhādūrdhvaṃ karīndraṃ yuvatimaya
madhastalaṃ naumi devaṃ (Gaṇeśaṃ) //[7]

i.e., 'Now about Śakti-Gaṇapati:

Salutation to the god Gaṇeśa who has an elephant's head, corpulent belly, vermilion-red colour, well-formed buttocks and breasts and the lower part of whose body is characterised by the youthful feminity. The god is the beloved of Śiva and is adorned with the rosary, etc.

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In two of his hands he has the chain made of molten gold.'[8]

The above description thus provides an interesting account of the female form of Gaṇeśa, *i.e.*, Gaṇeśānī or Vaināyakī, which is altogether different from the description of Śakti-Gaṇapati or the composite image of Gaṇeśa and his *Śakti*, wherein like Ardhanārīśvara, the left-half of the body has the characteristic features of a female.[9]

In Jainism

That the Jainas also worshipped Vaināyakī as one of the Yoginīs, is proved by a Jaina manuscript No. 396, preserved in the Haṁsa Vijaya Collection, Jaina Mandir, Baroda. The manuscript mentions the names of Gaṇeśvarī along with Mahāyogī, Siddhiyogī, Pretākshī, and many other Yoginīs.[10]

In the *Vidhi-prapā* composed in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1363 (1306 A.D.) by the celebrated Jaina scholar, Jinaprabhā Sūri, and in several other Jaina compositions of the mediaeval period, this form of *Śakti* is mentioned as Vināyakī or Vaināyakī.[11]

In 1904, Seth Ratanjī Faramjī had published in Gujarātī *Sañjñā Darśaka Kośa*, wherein the goddess is called Vaināyakī.[12]

In Buddhism

In Buddhism, the elephant-headed goddess has been described as Gaṇapatihṛdayā. Amṛtānanda

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has given the following description of the *devī* in his *Dharmakośasaṁgraha*:

> *Gaṇapatihṛdayā ekamukhā dvibhujā varadā abhayā nṛtyāsanā*
>
> *i.e.*, 'Gaṇapatihṛdayā is one-faced, two-armed, exhibits in her two hands the *varada* (gift bestowing) and *abhaya* (fear not) poses, and shows the dancing attitude'.[13]

Early Images

Probably the earliest depiction of the elephant-headed female divinity can be noticed on a terra-cotta plaque discovered during the excavations at Rairh in the former State of Jaipur in Rajasthan (fig. 1). Assignable to *circa* 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D., the plaque shows a standing figure with her proboscis curled to the right. The other details of this two-armed figure are very much obliterated.[14]

Several ancient literary works provide references to the goddesses having heads of animals and birds.[15] The Kushāṇa art of Mathura also presents numerous examples of Mātṛkā (Divine Mother) figures with animal and bird heads (fig. 2).[16] But surprisingly, not a single Mātṛkā figure of this period having an elephant's head, has been found yet from Mathura or any other part of the country. It will be interesting to know that the Kushāṇa artist was aware with the fashioning of the elephant-headed figures. For example, a stone panel preserved in the Government Museum, Mathura depicts in its

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lower panel the elephant-headed Yakshas (No. 2335; fig. 3).[17] Similarly, a fragmentary Sātavāhana sculpture of *circa* 2nd century A.D., from Amaravati and exhibited in the Government Museum, Madras, shows a garland-bearing dwarf-like Yaksha and Yakshī couple with heads and ears of an elephant, but strangely without the trunks (fig. 4).[18]

Varāhamihira (6th century A.D.), while giving the description of the Mātṛkās, says:

मातृगणः कर्त्तव्यः स्वनामदेवानुरूपकृतचिह्नः ।
Bṛhatsaṁhitā, 57, 56

i.e., 'the Mothers should be made with the forms and the cognisances of the individual gods whom they are named after'.

Utpala (9th-10th century A.D.), while commenting on the above verse of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, first mentions the usual names of the Mātṛkās like Brāhmī, Vaishṇavī, Kaumārī, etc. and later in the list of the Mātṛgaṇas also refers to the names of Nārasiṁhī, Vārāhī and Vaināyakī:

एवंमन्यासां नारसिंहिवाराहिवैनायकीनामप्यूह्यम् ।[19]

But it may be observed here that Varāhamihira is silent about the names of the Mātṛkās referred to by Utpala in his commentary on the above mentioned verse of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. Similarly, the Gaṅgadhāra stone inscription of Viśvavarman of the Mālava year 480, found in the former State of Jhalawar in Rajasthan, which also mentions the

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Divine Mothers, 'who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy (and) who stir up the (very) ocean with mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion',[20] also does not refer to the names of the Mātṛkās mentioned by Utpala.

Probably the solitary example of Vaināyakī, which can be assigned to the early Gupta period, is the standing image of the goddess, preserved in the Government Museum, Mathura (No. 509; fig. 5). The image like many early sculptures of her consort, Gaṇeśa, is also only two-armed and has a bulging belly. She holds a lotus-bud with stalk in her left hand and wears a tiger's skin. One can notice the absence of the sacred-thread,[21] which is invariably shown in the contemporary images of Gaṇeśa from Mathura (No. 51.21; fig. 6), Samalaji[22] and Bhumara,[23] revealing her identity as Vaināyakī. It may also be seen that in her bodily proportions, the Vaināyakī image from Mathura is very much similar to the sculptures of the same goddess from Suhania (fig. 11) and Hirapur (fig. 18).

Images of the early Mediaeval Period

Alice Getty in her monumental work on Gaṇeśa refers to the Vaināyakī image housed in the Chaunsaṭha-Yoginī temple at Bheraghat as 'the only feminine form of Gaṇeśa known to the author in India'.[24] But recent discoveries have revealed some more interesting sculptures of Vaināyakī belonging to the early mediaeval period, in sitting, standing and dancing poses with other variations in iconographic details.

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K. D. Bajpai has recently discovered an excellent group of eighteen Yoginī sculptures at Lohri in Banda district of Uttar Pradesh. Among these, there also exists an image of Vaināyakī seated with her right leg doubled and the left pendant and resting on the ground (fig. 7). Her two arms, the tiara and the plain stele indicate the continuance of early art traditions and suggests the date of the sculpture to *circa* 9th century A.D. It will be worthwhile to mention here that the sculptures of Gaṇeśa from Varanasi and Mathura (National Museum, New Delhi, Nos. 66.22; 58.11/16), belonging to the Gupta period, are also two-armed like the image of Vainā-yakī from Lohri.

The image is of utmost iconographic interest, because the goddess instead of holding her usual attributes, viz. an axe and a lotus etc., carries a *vajra* (thunderbolt) in her left hand and sits on an elephant, which, as known from several other sculptures, are the attribute and the mount respec-tively of Aindrī or Indrāṇī (fig. 8). A two-armed sculpture of Aindrī from Jagat (6th century A.D.) holds a similar *vajra* in her right hand, while another image of the *devī* from Nagada (10th century A.D.) has an elephant as her *vāhana*, shown in almost similar manner under her left knee. Both these sculptures of Aindrī are preserved in the Udaipur Museum.[25] Like Vināyaka, Vaināyakī also generally holds a sweet-ball (*modaka*) in one of her hands. But in the present image, she holds some fruit instead of a sweet-ball in her right hand. Thus, the image interestingly shows the figure of Vaināyakī, but with the attribute and mount of Indrāṇī in a most curious manner.

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Several fragmentary panels once enshrined in a Yoginī temple at Rikhian in Banda district were discovered by the Archaeological Survey of India in the years 1909-10. These panels, each carved with four figures, depict human, bird and animal-faced Yoginīs, seated with their mounts in a row (fig. 9). Among these, the image of the elephant-headed Vaināyakī is shown seated at ease between the lion-headed Nārasiṁhī and the boar-headed Vārāhī carrying their usual attributes. The four-armed Vaināyakī wears a crown, a single-beaded necklace and a *sāṛī* secured with a girdle at the waist (fig. 10). She holds clockwise a battle-axe, a cobra, a lotus and a staff. But the mouse, the *vāhana* of the *devī*, is absent in the image. The finely executed panel can be assigned to the Pratihāra period, 10th century A.D.

An image of Vaināyakī found at Suhania (Madhya Pradesh) is displayed in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior (No. 190; fig. 11). The pot-bellied goddess stands majestically in *tribhaṅga*-pose[26] between two pilasters. Her weight is taken on the left leg, while the right is flexed and slightly advanced. She wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*[27] necklace, armlets, bracelets, etc. The lower garment reaches above the knees. She holds a lotus-bud in her upper right hand, and a damaged dagger (?) in her upper left. Her lower right hand has a hatchet (*paraśu*) and the corresponding left holds a bowl of sweets (*modakas*). The proboscis is turned to the proper left and the curl end is placed on the sweets. The main figure is flanked by a flute-player on her right and a drum-beater on the left. Female attendants and griffons decorate the exterior

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of the frame on each side. The sculpture is a sublime product of the Pratihāra art, 10th century A.D.

Harshanatha or Harshagiri near Sikar in Rajasthan is famous for the Śiva temple, popularly known as Purānā Mahādeva, which was built by the powerful Chauhān kings in the 10th century A.D. Some loose sculptures of various Hindu divinities are lying near the temple. Among these, there is also a badly damaged torso of Vaināyakī embedded in one of the walls and worshipped by the local people as evident by coatings of vermilion on her face and other parts of the body (fig. 12). The well-modelled torso with rounded breasts is decorated with a multi-strand necklace. She wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* and there is a lotus-shaped halo behind her head. Her trunk shown between the prominent tusks is curved to the left. Like the Vaināyakī sculpture from Lohri referred to above, this image is also a two-armed figure. Her right fore-arm is broken and in the left she holds a bowl, which does not contain sweet-balls. The image though badly damaged at places is yet a fine example of the Chauhān art, 10th century A.D.[28]

A unique image of Vaināyakī shows her dancing in *ālīḍha*-pose (fig. 13A).[29] The four-armed goddess wears a tiara, usual ornaments and *sāṛī*. She holds a battle-axe (*paraśu*) and a bowl of sweet-balls (*modakas*) in her upper hands, the lower left probably carries her damaged tooth, while the lower right hand is held in dancing gesture, as also shown in several images of *nṛtya*-Gaṇeśa from the Khajuraho region.[30] The eternal joy and ecstasy so wonderfully shown on the face of the goddess

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suggest the hand of a gifted *śilā-śrī* (*i.e.*, one who imparts beauty to stones). Her mount is depicted near her right foot. The charming image found at Tikamgarh (Madhya Pradesh) is an excellent example of Chandella workmanship, 10th century A.D.

The *ālīḍha*-pose is generally peculiar to the images of Garuḍa, the *vāhana* of Lord Vishṇu.[31] A few images of Hanumān belonging to the Vijayanagara period, also depict him seated in this particular attitude.[32] Besides these, two rare sculptures of Śiva (No. 59.153/120)[33] and Harihara (No. 68.137),[34] now in the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi, represent the gods dancing in *ālīḍha*-pose, as also shown in the image of Vaināyakī from Tikamgarh. Though numerous icons of *nṛtya*-Gaṇapati have been found from Khajuraho and other parts of India, yet no other image of his *Śakti*, as represented dancing in the present sculpture, has been published so far.

An excellently carved sculpture of Vaināyakī was discovered some years ago along with a *Sapta-Mātṛkā* group from Hinglajgarh—a famous site of the Paramāra art in Madhya Pradesh (fig. 14). The goddess is seated in graceful manner on a full-blown lotus with her left leg doubled, but the right leg is damaged and lost. She wears an elaborate crown, beautiful jewellery, a long garland of flowers and a diaphanous *sāṛī* having floral designs and secured with a jewelled girdle at the waist. Her arms are broken, hence nothing can be said about the attributes once held by the goddess. A mouse, the *vāhana* of the *devī* having a chain in its neck, is depicted of quite

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unusually big size, as also shown in the contemporary sculpture kept in the Chaunsaṭha-Yoginī temple at Hirapur (fig. 18). A lotus halo encircled by a beaded border is carved behind her head. An image of a *devī* is depicted on its either side. A female attendant stands on the pedestal, flanking the main figure of Vaināyakī. The image datable to the Paramāra art of the 10th century A.D., is exhibited in the Birla Museum at Bhopal.

An elegant example of Vaināyakī is also the image No. 41 placed in one of the cells of the Chaunsaṭha-Yoginī temple at Bheraghat in Jabalpur district, Madhya Pradesh (fig. 15). The four-armed goddess (arms lost) with full breasts and attenuated waist is seated at ease on a lotus leaf and is supported with the left hand of a squatting elephant-headed male figure, probably Gaṇeśa.[35] The third vertical eye (*ūrdhva-trinetra*) shown in this image is also found in many of the images of Gaṇeśa from northern India.[36] She wears a crown and her ornaments consist of necklaces, armlets and a long garland of flowers. She also wears a diaphanous *sāṛī* (lower garment) with schematic folds, secured with an elaborate girdle (*mekhalā*) at the waist with festoons and tassels falling on the thighs.

The name of the goddess *Śrī-Aiṅgiṇī* is inscribed on the pedestal in front, and probably this was her local name, by which she was called and worshipped as one of the Yoginīs in that area.[37] The image though badly damaged at places is full of vitality and grace and can be assigned to the Chedi art of the 11th century A.D.

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An excellent group of Yoginī sculptures bearing on the pedestals their names viz. Śrī Indrāṇī, Śrī Vasabhā, Śrī Sarvamaṅgalā, Śrī Nārasattā and Śrī Nāiṇī (the glorious Nāginī), discovered from Satna in Madhya Pradesh is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[38] Among these, the rare bovine-headed sculpture with a short inscription on its pedestal mentioning it as Śrī Vasabhā, *i.e.*, Śrī Vṛshabhā, is shown seated on a lion with baby Gaṇeśa on her lap (No. A.25218; fig. 16). Interestingly, the image also depicts a four-armed figure of Vainayakī seated on the pedestal on the left side (fig. 17). She holds a lotus and a flower in her upper hands, her lower right hand carries a damaged mace, as suggested by its ribbed lower end, while the lower left, which is now broken, probably held a bowl of sweets, on which the tip of her proboscis was placed. Seeing the miniature size and place of the image, it can be presumed that here Vainayakī has been given a subordinate position of a *pārśva-devatā* in comparison to Vṛshabhā, whom the Chedi artist has assigned an exalted place in the crowded composition of the sculpture. The image may be dated to the 10th century A.D.

The image of Vainayakī, numbered as 38 in the serial order in the Chaunsaṭha-Yoginī temple at Hirapur in Orissa, is a specimen of exquisite workmanship (fig. 18). She stands graciously on the mount, mouse (*mūshaka*) with her proboscis running down vertically. Her hair is arranged in typical *jaṭā-makuṭa*[39] fashion, which is quite usual in the images of her counterpart, Gaṇeśa, from Orissa.[40] She wears a beautiful necklace of four strands and

her lower garment is secured with a girdle at the waist, with chains hanging between the thighs. The graceful modelling of the figure with high finish suggests the date of this masterpiece to the 10th century A.D.

The Chaunsaṭha-Yoginī temple at Ranipur-Jhariyal, also in Orissa, has an image of Vaināyakī in cell No. 43 (fig. 19). She also wears a beautiful *jaṭā-makuṭa*, the usual ornaments and *sāṛī* with its folds shown between her legs. Her proboscis and breasts are partly damaged. She holds an indistinct object in her upper right hand and a *paraśu* in the corresponding left; while her front hands are now broken and lost.

A unique feature in this image is that unlike the other sculptures of the *devī* referred to earlier, she is admirably shown dancing in the *chatura*-pose.[41] This particular pose reminds us of the contemporary sculpture of Gaṇeśa carved on the Ambikā-Mātā temple at Jagat, near Udaipur in Rajasthan (fig. 20). The similarity of the dance pose and also of the attributes, particularly *paraśu* in the images of Vaināyakī and Vināyaka from two distant parts of India, is indeed worthy of note for comparative study. Both the images are datable to the 10th century A.D.

A very interesting example of Vaināyakī discovered at Giriyek in Bihar is now housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 3919; fig. 21).[42] The goddess, who is not represented as a pot-bellied figure, is seated cross-legged on a lotus seat (*padmāsana*)

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mounted on a decorated base. She is four-armed and holds in her rear hands a vase and a battle-axe, while the front hands carry probably a staff or a radish and a conch. The matted locks (*jaṭā-makuṭa*) of hair with a diadem depicted in front are nicely arranged. The sculpture is an excellent example of the Pāla art of 11th century A.D.

A bust of a Vainayakī image, reminding us of almost a similar bust of the goddess, worshipped at Harshagiri, Sikar (fig. 12), has been recently found at Patan, Mehsana district in north Gujarat (fig. 22).[43] The goddess wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, a necklace, bracelets and the three-stringed girdle for securing the *sāṛī* at the waist. The surviving upper left hand of the four-armed figure is held in *abhaya-mudrā*, *i.e.*, in the attitude of assuring protection to her devotees. Her proboscis twirled to the proper left is partly damaged. The image which is badly damaged and weather-worn is preserved in the site museum of Sahasraliṅga Talāva. It has been dated to the Chaulukya period, 12th century A.D.

A seated elephant-headed image discovered along with several other loose sculptures from the ruins of the Tāmreśvarī temple near Sadiya in Assam, and wrongly described as Gaṇeśa by R. M. Nath,[44] has been correctly identified by D. Bhattacharya as the female form of the deity on the basis of her fully developed breasts[45] (fig. 23).

Images of the late Mediaeval Period

Images of Vainayakī, though rare, are not alto-

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gether unknown in south India and the Deccan. An excellent sculpture of the goddess is found on a pillar of the temple of Sthanumalaya-Swāmī at Suchindram (fig. 39). This late mediaeval temple, which is dedicated to the Hindu trinity (*i.e.*, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva), is located about three miles south of Nagercoil on the way to Kanyakumari.

Probably Vaināyakī was also conceived as one of the folk deities. The famous temple of Śrī Naṭarāja at Chidambaram in Tamil Nadu, has a unique image of Vaināyakī, which is very interesting from the iconographic point of view. The upper part of her body is quite similar to the elephant-headed Vaināyakī figures, but strangely enough her lower part is that of a *vyāla* having powerful claws (fig. 24). A number of *vyālas*, like the *gajavyāla*, *śukavyāla*, *simhavyāla*, *sarpavyāla*, *śārdūlavyāla*, *bhallukavyāla*, *vṛkavyāla*, *ajavyāla*, etc. are known in Indian art.[46] But nowhere a figure combining the female form of the elephant-headed god, Vināyaka, and a *vyāla*, as shown in the present sculpture, is known in the plastic arts of northern India. Her high *karaṇḍamakuṭa*, fan-shaped ears, prominent breasts and the flowing tail at the back are some other worth-noticing features. The goddess like many of the images of Gaṇeśa, holds a flower in her right hand and sweetballs (*modakas*) in her proboscis and also the extended left hand. The image which stylistically belongs to the Vijayanagara period, 16th century A.D., is still worshipped by the local people of the area.

In this connection, mention can also be made of a wooden sculpture of Vaināyakī, once adorning a

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ratha (temple car), belonging to Daṇḍayuthapāṇi Devasthānam, Palani, Madurai district. The four-armed goddess holds lotuses in her rear hands; while in her front hands she carries a sword and a shield, not noticed in any of the sculptures of the *devī* mentioned above. But like the Chidambaram sculpture, she also has her lower part of a tiger or a *vyāla*, having a raised tail. The image datable to the late Nāyaka period, 18th century A.D., is now deposited in the Government Museum, Madras (No. 1920/72; fig. 25).

A beautiful bronze image of Vaināyakī found in Karnataka and presently exhibited in the Chitrapur Maṭh Museum, Shirali, north Kanara, shows her seated cross-legged on a double-lotus seat mounted on a rectangular base (fig. 26). The four-armed goddess holds an axe and a noose in her upper hands, while her lower hands are held in *abhaya* and *varada*-poses. She wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* and other ornaments and her curly locks of hair are trailing on the shoulders. The proboscis vertically falling between the full breasts, probably holds a sweet-ball at its lower end. The details of her face are worn off, from which it is evident that the image must have been under worship for a long period before it was finally acquired for the Chitrapur Maṭh Museum. The rare icon is the product of the Vijayanagara period, *circa* 16th century A.D.

An excellent bronze image of Vaināyakī from Kerala, is preserved in the Staatl. Museum für Völkerkunde, München (No. Gedon 527; figs. 27-28). Here also the goddess is seated cross-legged on a

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lotus mounted on a block pedestal. Her right hand is in *abhaya-mudrā* and the left is in *varada*-pose. The beautiful head-dress of the goddess is decked with flowers and she is profusely adorned with the various ornaments of the period. Her trunk, running down vertically and twirled at the end, holds a sweet-ball in the typical manner as also shown in the contemporary images of Gaṇeśa from Kerala.[47] Her rounded and full breasts, big rotund belly and the strong youthful physical form are the characteristic features of the late Keralese art and suggest the date of the image to the late Chera period, *circa* 17th century A.D. The floral back-frame, with its upper part now damaged (fig. 29), has much similarity with many other bronze icons hailing from that picturesque state.

The Heras Institute, Bombay has on display a brass image of Vaināyakī from the Deccan, assignable to 17th century A.D. (No. 0.4; fig. 30). The four-armed goddess is standing on a pedestal with her trunk curved to the left. The attributes held in her raised upper hands are now missing; the lower right hand holds a cup, while the lower left is akimbo. She wears a crown, an upper garment passing round her left shoulder like a sacred-thread (*vastra-yajñō-pavīta*) over her drooping breasts, and an animal skin (may be a tiger skin) as her lower garment. A dagger is tucked in her waist on the left side.[48]

A rare folk bronze image of Vaināyakī probably fashioned in Maharashtra, shows the four-armed goddess majestically seated at ease on a high cushioned seat (fig. 31). She wears a long garland

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and a cobra-hood is depicted above her five-peaked tiara, as one may see in many other late bronze images of the Śaiva-Śakti cult divinities from Maharashtra. The tip of her trunk is resting on a sweet-ball held in the front right hand; while the rear right carries a battle-axe. Her rear left hand holds a trident and the front left has a full-blown lotus. Her mount, a mouse, is depicted on her left eating a *modaka*, held in its front claws. In spite of its crude workmanship, the image now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (No. 55.191), is a typical example of the 17th-18th century A.D.

In Paintings and Manuscript

Vainayakī has also been found represented in the Pahari and Nepalese paintings and manuscript. A charming miniature painting of the Chamba school, late 18th century A.D., illustrating Śiva's twilight dance is preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi (No. 56.38/5; fig. 32). In this, Naṭeśa is surrounded by several figures, such as Vināyaka, Kārttikeya, *gaṇas*, etc. joyously playing on various musical instruments. Among these, an elephant-headed female figure, wearing a blouse and playing on two drums, is shown on the left of Naṭarāja. As Gaṇeśa playing on *vīṇā* is depicted on the right of Śiva, it may be possible to identify the female figure playing on the drums with Gaṇeśānī or Vainayakī. It may be seen that like several other images of Vainayakī (figs. 18 and 27), here too she is shown as a two-armed figure in contrast to the four-armed figure of Vināyaka. Her identification with Vainayakī is further supported by slightly

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round eyes, small ears, the comparatively supple body and the *vyāghra-charma* (tiger skin), which she wears as the lower garment as also shown in the bronze image of the goddess displayed in the Heras Institute, Bombay (fig. 30). Besides this, in several images of Gaṇapati found in different parts of northern India, the god is shown clad in a tiger skin (fig. 33).

A Nepalese painting of the elephant-headed Buddhist goddess Gaṇapatihṛdayā is in the collection of Dr. W.Y. Evans-Wentz (fig. 34).[49] The three-eyed and multi-armed goddess bears a terrific look and besides displaying her two hands in *abhaya* and *varada-mudrā*, carries deadly weapons in her other hands. The painting can be dated to the late 18th century A.D.[50]

Another beautiful depiction of Gaṇapatihṛdayā can be seen in a miniature painting contained in a Nepalese Buddhist Tāntric text of the *Dhāraṇī-Saṁgraha* preserved in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (No. G.10741.D; fig. 35). The goddess is shown seated at ease with her left leg doubled and the right placed on her *vāhana*, a big mouse, painted in dark blue colour. The *devī*, painted in pure white, wears a tiara, two short and one big necklace, armlets, bangles, a red scarf around her shoulders and a red *sāṛī* having flower designs in gold. The four-armed goddess holds a radish,[51] a twisted rosary or a noose (*pāśa*), a trident and a vase in her hands. A red colour circular halo decorated with two golden lines is shown behind her head. This paper manuscript bearing the date in Newāṛī *Saṁvat* 963 (1843 A.D.) ends with:

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आर्य्यश्रीगणपतिहृदयनामधारणी समाप्त ॥[52]

Eelphant-headed Kinnarīs

A reference can also be made of the glazed terracotta figures of two *kinnarīs*,[53] discovered in Pangu Pagoda in Burma and now preserved in the Pagan Museum (fig. 36).[54] These are shown with the heads of elephants and raised tails, an interesting art motif, so well-known in Indian sculpture and painting.

Reśume

We have seen above that the Hindu and Jaina scriptures had included Vainayakī in the list of the sixty-four Yoginīs. Thus, it appears that the goddess must have been worshipped by the followers of both these religions. The Buddhists also adored her under the name of Gaṇapatihṛdayā.

Āchārya Nemichandra (12th century A.D.) states that the worship of sixty-four Yoginīs in the *Yoginī-pīṭha* of the *Bhūtanāśana-yantra*, with areca-nuts, betel-leaves and lamps, burning of incense, worship of planets, etc. was done to cure the King Nanda, when he became love-sick. The account is full of humorous descriptions.[55]

Several *Paṭṭāvalīs* of the *Kharataragachchha* relate that the famous Jaina saint and scholar Jinadatta Sūri (12th century A.D.) had shown his miracles to the *Chaunsaṭha*-Yoginīs.

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Bharuvachchha, Kamali, Palodar (in Gujarat), Ujjain and Ajmer were some of the important centres of Yoginī worship. Delhi, known as Joginī or Yoginīpura in the Mangalana stone inscription of Jayatrasiṁha dated Vikrama *Saṁvat* 1272 (1215 A.D.) and in several other old Jaina texts, must have been a great centre of Yoginī worship.[56] The same name for Delhi is also met with in *Diṅgalabhāshā* (or unpublished language) poetry.[57] In the *Hammīramahākāvya* of Nayachandra Sūri (13th century A.D.), the name Yoginīpura is used for Delhi:

परमप्रीतिगौराणां पौराणामपि भाषितम् ।
उपेक्ष्य गर्वादुर्वीशो ययिवान् योगिनीपुरम् ॥
Hammīramahākāvya, IV, 101

The *Skanda Purāṇa* refers to the temples dedicated to the sixty-four Yoginīs at Chamatkarapura.[58] The *Agni Purāṇa* states that the Yoginīs should be represented as having eight or four hands as the case may be, and wielding arms according to their own choice. They impart all success to their votaries on being duly worshipped and propitiated.[59]

Temples dedicated to sixty-four Yoginīs have been found at Khajuraho, Bheraghat, Hirapur, Ranipur-Jhariyal, Mitauli near Padhavali, Dudhai, Kalahandi, Rikhian, etc. Such temples were probably also once existed at Lohri in Banda district, Naresar near Gwalior,[60] Satna,[61] Gurgi and Shahdol,[62] from where several images of the Yoginīs have been discovered.

Except the few sculptures of Vaināyakī, *e.g.* the

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ones *in situ* in the Yoginī temples at Rikhian (figs. 9-10), Bheraghat (fig. 15), Hirapur (fig. 18), and Ranipur-Jhariyal (fig. 19), the others like those from Suhania (fig. 11) and Giriyek (fig. 21) have been found from the places where no traces of the Yoginī temples have been discovered.

It can thus be presumed that Vainayakī was worshipped both as one of the sixty-four Yoginīs and also as an independent goddess. However, further light on the worship of Vainayakī and the regions where it was more prevalent can be thrown after further discoveries in other parts of India, which are still awaited.

The foregoing discussion would reveal that the goddess Vainayakī was one of the important female deities which were duly adored in the mediaeval India. Gāṇapatya was one of the five major sects, the four others being Śaiva, Vaishṇava, Saura and Śākta. Vainayakī, being the female energy of Vināyaka, gradually occupied an important place in the Hindu mythology. The popularity of the goddess Vainayakī seems to have increased in the early mediaeval period and she was invariably given an important place in the temples of *Chaunsaṭha*-Yoginīs. At the same time, the multiplicity in forms and attributes can also be noted with interest which must have been introduced with the rising popularity of Tāntric rituals and practices.

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NOTES

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4. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 179, 10-82.
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   The *Salya Parva* of *Mahābhārata* (46, 3-29½) also gives a long list of the *Mātṛkās*, but the name of Vaināyakī is absent there.
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the State Museum, Lucknow, Part I, pp. 55-65 and figures.

16. Agrawala, V.S., 'A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art—Mātṛkā or Divine Mothers', *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXII, pp. 160-64.
17. Agrawala, V.S., *Mathurā Kalā* (Hindi), pp. 73-74.
18. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Yakshas*, p. 42, pl. 23, fig. 1.
19. *The Bṛhatsaṁhitā by Varāhamihira*, ed. Dwivedi, Sudhakara, p. 785.
    See also Banerjea, J.N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 504.
    I am indebted to Prof. B.N. Mukherjee of Calcutta University for kindly drawing my attention to the above references.
20. Fleet, J.F., 'Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors', *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 76.
21. Sacred-thread: *Yajñopavīta*.
22. Shah, U.P., *Sculptures from Samlaji and Roda (North Gujarat) in the Baroda Museum*, fig. 14.
23. Indian Museum, Calcutta, antiquity no. AZ5063 (N.S. 4951).
    Sivaramamurti, C., *Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan*, pl. VIII, fig. d.
24. Getty, A., *Gaṇeśa—A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God*, p. 30, pl. 40.
    Ms. Juthika Maitra of Calcutta University has kindly informed me that two seated, but damaged sculptures of Vaināyakī (as evident from their developed breasts), datable to the Utpala period, *circa* 10th century A.D., are kept in the compound of the Srinagar Museum. These have been photographed by the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi (Neg. Nos. 1386-69; 1387-69). I am grateful to her for this valuable information, but somehow, the photographs of these sculptures could not be procured in time for publication in the book.
25. *Handbook to the Victoria Hall Museum*, Udaipur, pls. V, III.

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26. *Tribhaṅga*-pose: treflex-pose.
27. *Karaṇḍa-makuṭa*: Crown so called because it resembles a pile of pots.
28. Lanius, M.C., 'An Image of Vaināyakı from Harshagiri (Sikar), Rajasthan', *Oriental Art*, XVII, 1, p. 38 and figure.
29. *Ālīḍha*-pose: warrior's pose with right leg forward and left leg drawn back.
30. Awasthi, R., *Khajurāho kī Deva Pratimāyen* (Hindi), Agra, 1967, pp. 42-44, figs. 11, 12, 13.
31. Sharma, B.N., 'Some Mediaeval Sculptures from Rajasthan in the National Museum, New Delhi', *Roopa-Lekhā*, New Delhi, XXXV, 1 & 2, p. 31, pl. II.
    See also Banerji, A., 'Further Unpublished Sculptures from Mewar', *Lalit Kalā*, New Delhi, No. 10, p. 19, pl. IX, fig. 4.
32. National Museum, New Delhi, antiquity no. 78.741.
33. Sivaramamurti, C., *Naṭarāja in Literature, Art and Thought*, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 196-98, figs. 43, 46.
34. Sharma, B.N., 'A Unique Image of Harihara in the National Museum, New Delhi', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, XVIII, 1 & 2, pp. 157-59, pl. I.
35. Sharma, R.K., *The Temple of Chaunsaṭha-Yoginī at Bheraghat*, p. 103, pl. 52.
36. Singh, S.B., 'Vināyaka-Gaṇapati and his icons in Uttar Pradesh', *Roopa-Lekhā*, New Delhi, XLI, 1 & 2, pp. 89-90, fig. III.
37. Banerji, R.D., *The Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*, p. 85.
38. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1925-26*, pp. 152-53, pl. LIX, figs. a, b, c, d, e.
39. *Jaṭā-makuṭa*: Crown composed of locks of hair.
40. Sivaramamurti, C., 'Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography', *Ancient India*, No. 6, January 1950, p. 30, fig. 15, 3.
41. *Chatura*-pose: clever dance pose.
42. Banerji, R.D., *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, p. 117.
43. Parekh, V.S., 'An Image of Vaināyakı from Patan

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(North Gujarat)', *Journal of Oriental Institute*, XXII, 3, pp. 359-60 and figure.

44. Nath, R.M., *The Background of Assamese Culture*, pl. XXV.
45. Bhattacharya, D., 'The Composite Image of Vāsudeva and Lakshmi', *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, VIII, 4, p. 265.
46. Bhuvanadeva (12th century A.D.) in his *Aparājita-pṛchchhā* (233, 2-6) has given a list of sixteen *vyālas* or the fabulous animal motifs with different heads, *e.g.*, *siṁha-*, *gaja-*, *aśva-*, *nara-*, *vṛsha-*, *mesha-*, *śuka-*, *śūkara-*, *mahisha-*, *mūshaka-*, *kīṭa-*, *vānara-*, *haṁsa-*, *kukkuṭa-*, *mayūra-*, *tripallīsarpa-vyāla*.
47. Sharma, B.N., 'Kerala Bronzes in the National Museum, New Delhi', *Lalit Kalā*, No. 15, p. 52, pl. XXV, fig. 4; 'Kerala Bronzes in the National Museum', *Lalit Kalā*, No. 17, p. 41, pl. XV, fig. 6; 'Kerala Bronzes in the National Museum', *East and West*, XXV, 1-2, pp. 176-77, figs. 2, 4.
    Otsuka, R.Y. and Lanius, M.C., *South Asian Sculpture: The Harold P. and Jane F. Ullman Collection, Denver Art Museum*, Denver, 1975, fig. 22.
48. Desai, K.S., *Treasures of the Heras Institute*, p. 31, fig. 106.
49. Bhattacharya, B., *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 349, fig. 229.
50. Dr. Lokesh Chandra has kindly informed me that the name of Gaṇapatihṛdayā is mentioned in the *Hevajra Tantra* and her depiction is also found in the late mediaeval art of Tibet and Japan.
51. Radish as an attribute of Gaṇeśa can also be seen in the images of the god from Nepal (Pal, P., 'Notes on five sculptures from Nepal', *The British Museum Quarterly*, London, XXIX, 1-2, p. 31, pl. XIV) and China (Dhavalikar, M.K., 'Gaṇeśa beyond the Indian Frontiers', *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, Madras, 1970, p. 13, fig. 14).
52. Illustration No. 4; Folio No. 11A.
    Shastri, H.P., *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care*

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of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I, Buddhist Manuscripts, p. 49.

53. *Kinnarī*: winged figure having human head and bird's feet.
54. Frédéric, L., *The Temples and Sculptures of South-East Asia*, p. 77, fig. 61.
55. See Appendix N.
56. Asopa, R.K., 'Mangalana Stone Inscription of Jaya-simha', *Indian Antiquary*, XLI, pp. 87-88.
57. Even now there is an old temple of Yogamāyā at Mehrauli, near Delhi.
58. *Skanda Purāṇa*, VI, 164, 42.
59. *Agni Purāṇa*, 52, 9.
60. Thakore, S.R., *Catalogue of Sculptures in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, M.B.*, pp. 31-33.
    See Appendix L.
61. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1925-26, pp. 152-53, pl. LIX, figs. a, b, c, d, e.
62. Dikshit, S.K., *A Guide to the State Museum, Dhubela*, pp. 17-27, figs. VI-XI.
    See Appendix M.

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Several *Purāṇas* like the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, *Skanda Purāṇa*, and the *Liṅga Purāṇa* and also some other texts like the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, etc. refer to Vaināyakī in one context or the other. But the *Gorakshasaṁhitā* is probably the only work of the mediaeval period, which provides iconographic details of various goddesses including Vaināyakī, as under:[1]

नीलामा नीलवर्णा च नीललोहितपिङ्गला ।
गजवक्त्रा महाकाया त्रिनेत्रा मुकुटोज्ज्वला ॥
लम्बोदरा स्थूलह्रस्वा चतुर्भुजकृतायुधा ।
मोदकं दशनं वामे पर्शुसूत्रं च दक्षिणे ॥
वड[र]माला शिरे तस्या वर्णहारावलम्बिनी ।
आखुपृष्ठसमारुढा सर्वाभरणमण्डिता ॥
विनायकी महादेवी गजचर्मपरिच्छदा ।

Gorakshasaṁhitā, I, Ch. VII, p. 37

V.S. Agrawala in his *Catalogue of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art* has mentioned a "panel of Seven Divine Mothers of whom five are preserved, each seated in *bhadrāsana*, bearing a child in lap and holding the right hand in *abhaya-mudrā*. The figurines are distinguished not by their vehicles but by the different animal faces borrowed from their respective *vāhanas* (no. 2331)."[2] A minute study of this panel reveals that in these animal- and bird-faced figures, the one shown on the extreme left has the face of an elephant, the lower part of whose

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trunk is now partly damaged and lost. This fragmentary relief is probably the only example of the Kushāṇa period depicting Vaināyakī along with other *mātṛkā* figures.

K.C. Panigrahi has published a rare seated image of Vaināyakī kept in the compound of the Akhaṇḍaleśvara temple at Jajpur in Orissa (fig. 37).[3] According to Panigrahi, "the objects held by the image of Gaṇeśānī have indeed become indistinct; but they can be identified with *japamālā*, a pot of *modakas* and a *mūlaka* or a broken tusk. Besides, on the pedestal there is a distinct figure of a mouse. The last-named attribute leads to its identification with Gaṇeśānī notwithstanding the fact that the deity is not elephant-headed. The image is assignable to 10th-11th century A.D."[4]

In this connection, T. Satyamurti has kindly drawn our attention to an almost similar image of Gaṇeśa, worshipped as Naramukha-Vināyaka in a temple at Chidambaram, Tamil Nadu. This small shrine, probably constructed during the late Chola period, has in its *garbhagṛha* a 4′ high sculpture of pot-bellied Bāla-Śakti Vināyaka seated in *padmāsana*. Unlike the usual sculptures of the elephant-headed god, here he is shown with a human face wearing a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*. The four-armed deity carries a noose and an axe in his upper hands, the front right hand holds a *modaka* and the corresponding left a *modaka-pātra*.

Thus keeping in view the sculpture of Naramukha-Vināyaka at Chidambaram, the image of the

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devī from Jajpur does not leave any doubt regarding her identification with Vaināyakī, as also referred to by Panigrahi.

A brass image of Vaināyakī shows the goddess in the squatting pose on a full-blown lotus (fig. 38). She has drooping eyes, an unusually large stomach and her breasts are distinctly marked. The *devī* holds a rosary and an axe in her right hands; while the left hands carry probably the stalk of a damaged lotus and a bowl of *modakas*, on which her proboscis is placed. She wears a tiara, a sacred-thread, *sāṛī* with folds gathered between the legs and interestingly also the boots. It may be noted that the sculptures of Sūrya from northern India are invariably shown as wearing the boots. But in no icon of Gaṇeśānī or even Gaṇeśa, they have been shown wearing the boots, as we find in the present image of the goddess. A mouse is depicted near her left foot.

The typical modelling of the figure in folk style, the lotus seat projecting upwards from the pedestal, the back-frame having ribbed designs and supporting a decorated lotus-shaped halo with a finial at the top suggest that the image was fashioned in the Punjab hills in c. 14th century A.D.

Thus all the literary and archaeological material at our disposal brings it home that Vaināyakī was regarded as an important female divinity and was depicted both as an independent figure as well as along with the Mātṛkās and Yoginīs from circa 1st century B.C. to late 18th century A.D.

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NOTES

1. *Gorakshasaṁhitā* (Sarasvatī Bhavan Granthmālā, Vol. 110), Part I, ed. by Pandeya, Janardana, Varanasi, 1976.
   I am grateful to Ms. Vidya Dahejia for drawing my attention to this important reference.
2. Agrawala, V.S., 'A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art', *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXII, p. 162.
3. Panigrahi, K.C., *Itihāsa O Kiṁbadantī* (in Oṛiyā), Utkala University, 1962, p. 134, pl. 22.
   I am thankful to Dr. K.S. Behera, not only for this information, but also for kindly supplying me a photograph of the image for publication in the book.
4. These details have been kindly supplied by Dr. K.C. Panigrahi.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF YOGINĪS IN THE *SKANDA PURĀṆA, KĀŚĪ KHAṆḌA*, 45, 34-41

1. Gajānanā
2. Siṁhamukhī
3. Gṛdhrāsyā
4. Kākatuṇḍikā
5. Ushṭragrīvā
6. Hayagrīvā
7. Vārāhī
8. Śarabhānanā
9. Ulūkikā
10. Śivāravā
11. Mayūrī
12. Vikaṭānanā
13. Ashṭavakrā
14. Koṭarākshī
15. Kubjā
16. Vikaṭalochanā
17. Śushkodarī
18. Lalajjihvā
19. Śvadaṅshṭrā
20. Vānarānanā
21. Ṛkshākshī
22. Kekarākshī
23. Bṛhattuṇḍā
24. Surāpriyā
25. Kapālahastā
26. Raktākshī
27. Śukī
28. Śyenī
29. Kapotikā
30. Pāśahastā
31. Daṇḍahastā
32. Prachaṇḍā
33. Chaṇḍavikramā
34. Śiśughnī
35. Pāpahantrī
36. Kālī
37. Rudhirapāyinī
38. Vasādhayā
39. Garbhabhakshā
40. Śavahastā
41. Antramālinī
42. Sthūlakeśī
43. Bṛhatkukshi
44. Sarpāsyā
45. Pretavāhanā
46. Dandaśūkakarā
47. Krauñchī
48. Mṛgaśīrshā
49. Vṛshānanā
50. Vyāttāsyā
51. Dhūmaniḥśvāsā
52. Vyomaikacharaṇā

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53. Ūrdhvadṛk
54. Tāpanī
55. Śoshaṇīdṛshṭi
56. Koṭarī
57. Sthūlanāsikā
58. Vidyutprabhā
59. Balākāsyā
60. Mājārrī
61. Kaṭapūtanā
62. Aṭṭahāsā
63. Kāmākshī
64. Mṛgākshī-Mṛgalochanā

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APPENDIX B

LIST OF YOGINĪS IN THE *AGNI PURĀṆA*, 52, 2-8

1. Akshobhyā
2. Rūkshakarṇī
3. Rākshasī
4. Kshapaṇā
5. Kshamā
6. Piṅgākshī
7. Akshayā
8. Kshemā
9. Ilā
10. Nālālayā
11. Lolā
12. Raktā
13. Balākeśī
14. Lālasā
15. Vimalā
16. Durgā
17. Viśālākshī
18. Hṛīṅkārā
19. Vaḍavāmukhī
20. Mahābarūrā
21. Kṛodhanā
22. Bhayaṅkarī
23. Ṛgvedā
24. Hayānanā
25. Sārākhyā
26. Rasasaṅgrāhī
27. Śavarā
28. Tāla-jaṅghikā-raktākshī
29. Suprasiddhā
30. Vidyujjihvā
31. Karaṅkiṇī
32. Meghanādā
33. Prachaṇḍogrā
34. Kālakarṇī
35. Varapradā
36. Chaṇḍā
37. Chaṇḍavatī
38. Prapañchā
39. Pralayāntikā
40. Śiśuvaktra
41. Piśāchī
42. Piśitāśana-lolupa
43. Dhamanī
44. Tapanī
45. Rāgiṇī
46. Vikṛatānanā
47. Vāyuvegā
48. Vṛhatkukshī
49. Vikṛatā
50. Viśvalepikā

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51. Yamajivhā
52. Jayantī
53. Ṭurjayā
54. Jayantikā
55. Viḍālī
56. Revatī
57. Pūtanā
58. Vijayantikā

A slightly different version of the names of the Yoginīs is given in the *Agni Purāṇa*, English translation by M.N. Dutt Shastri, Vol. I, p. 190.

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APPENDIX C

LIST OF YOGINĪS IN THE *KĀLIKĀ PURĀṆA*

1. Brahmāṇī
2. Chaṇḍikā
3. Raudrī
4. Indrāṇī
5. Kaumārī
6. Vaishṇavī
7. Durgā
8. Nārasiṁhī
9. Kālikā
10. Chāmuṇḍā
11. Śivadūtī
12. Vārāhī
13. Kauśikī
14. Māheśvarī
15. Śāṅkarī
16. Jayantī
17. Sarvamaṅgalā
18. Kālī
19. Kapālinī
20. Medhā
21. Śivā
22. Śākambharī
23. Bhīmā
24. Śāntā
25. Bhṛāmarī
26. Rudrāṇī
27. Ambikā
28. Kshamā
29. Dhātrī
30. Svāhā
31. Svadhā
32. Aparṇā
33. Mahodarī
34. Ghorarūpā
35. Mahākālī
36. Bhadrakālī
37. Bhayaṅkarī
38. Ugrachaṇḍā
39. Chaṇḍogrā
40. Chaṇḍanāyikā
41. Chaṇḍā
42. Chaṇḍavatī
43. Chaṇḍī
44. Mahāmohā
45. Pṛyaṅkarī
46. Valavikāriṇī
47. Valapramathinī
48. Manonmathinī
49. Sarvabhūtadāyinī
50. Umā
51. Tārā

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52. Mahānidrā
53. Vijayā
54. Jayā
55. Śailaputrī
56. Chaṇḍaghaṇṭā
57. Skandamātā
58. Kālarātri
59. Chaṇḍikā
60. Kushmāṇḍī
61. Kātyāyanī
62. Mahāgaurī
63. Kshemaṅkarī

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APPENDIX D

LIST OF YOGINĪS IN THE *VIDHI-PRAPĀ*

1. Vārāhī
2. Vāmanī
3. Garuḍī
4. Indrāṇī
5. Yāmyā
6. Āgneyī
7. Naiṛttī
8. Vāruṇī
9. Vāyavyā
10. Saumyā
11. Īsānī
12. Brāhmī
13. Vaishṇavī
14. Māheśvarī
15. VINĀYAKĪ
16. Śivā
17. Śivadūtī
18. Chāmuṇḍā
19. Jayā
20. Vijayā
21. Ajitā
22. Aparājitā
23. Harasiddhi
24. Kālikā
25. Chaṇḍā
26. Suchaṇḍā
27. Kanakanadā
28. Sunandā
29. Umā
30. Ghaṇṭā
31. Sughaṇṭā
32. Māṅsapriyā
33. Āśāpurā
34. Lohitā
35. Ambā
36. Asthibhakshī
37. Nārāyaṇī
38. Nārasiṁhī
39. Kaumārī
40. Vāmaratā
41. Aṅgā
42. Vaṅgā
43. Dīrghadṛshṭrā
44. Mahādṛshṭrā
45. Prabhā
46. Suprabhā
47. Lambā
48. Lamboshṭī
49. Bhadrā
50. Subhadrā
51. Kālī
52. Raudrī
53. Raudramukhī
54. Karālī

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55. Vikarālī
56. Sākshī
57. Vikaṭākshī
58. Tārā
59. Sutārā
60. Rajanīkarā
61. Ranjanī
62. Śvetā
63. Bhadrakālī
64. Kshamākarī

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APPENDIX E

LIST OF YOGINĪS IN THE *SAÑJÑĀ-DARŚAKA-KOŚA*

1. Gajananāgṛdhrāsyā
2. Ushṭagrīvā
3. Vārāhī
4. Ulūkikā
5. Simhamukhī
6. Kākatuṇḍikā
7. Hayagrīvā
8. Śaramānanā
9. Śivārāvā
10. Mayūrī
11. Vikaṭānanā
12. Ashṭavakrā
13. Koṭārākshī
14. Kubajā
15. Vikaṭalochanā
16. Śuśkodarī
17. Lalajivhā
18. Svadṛshṭā
19. Vānarānanā
20. Rūkshākshī
21. Kekarākshī
22. Brahmatuṇḍā
23. Surāpriyā
24. Kapālahastā
25. Raktākshī
26. Ralākshī
27. Śukī
28. Senī
29. Kapotikā
30. Pāśahastā
31. Daṇḍahastā
32. Prachaṇḍā
33. Chanḍavikama
34. Śiśughnī
35. Pāpahantrī
36. Kālī
37. Rudhirā
38. Pāpinī
39. Vasādhayā
40. Vidyutaprabhā
41. Balākāsyā
42. Mājārrī
43. Garbhabhakshā
44. Śavahastā
45. Antrabhālikā
46. Sthūlakeśī
47. Bṛhatkukshī
48. Sapasiyā
49. Pretavāhanā
50. Danda-śukakarā
51. Krauñchī
52. Vasānanā

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53. Vyātāsyā
54. Dhūmaniśvāsā
55. Yaumaikacharaṇo
56. Tāpanī
57. Śoshaṇa-dṛshṭī
58. Koṭarī
59. Sthalatāsikā
60. Karaputanā
61. Aṭṭāṭṭahasyā
62. Kāmākshī
63. Mṛgākshī
64. Mṛgalochanā

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APPENDIX F

LIST OF YOGINĪS IN THE *ĀCHĀRA-DINAKARA*

1. Brahmāṇī
2. Kumārī
3. Vārāhī
4. Śaṅkarī
5. Indrāṇī
6. Kaṅkālī
7. Karālī
8. Kālī
9. Mahākālī
10. Chāmuṇḍā
11. Jwālāmukhī
12. Kāmākhyā
13. Kāpālinī
14. Durgā
15. Ambikā
16. Bhadrakālī
17. Lalitā
18. Gaurī
19. Sumaṅgalā
20. Rohiṇī
21. Kapilā
22. Śūlakarā
23. Kuṇḍalinī
24. Tripurā
25. Kurukullā
26. Bhairavī
27. Bhadrā
28. Chandrāvatī
29. Nārasiṁhā
30. Nirañjanā
31. Hemakānti
32. Pretāsanī
33. Īśvarī
34. Māheśvarī
35. Vaishṇavī
36. VAINĀYIKĪ
37. Yamaghaṇṭā
38. Sarasvatī
39. Harasiddhi
40. Totalā
41. Chaṇḍī
42. Śaṅkhanī
43. Padminī
44. Chitraṇī
45. Śākinī
46. Nārāyaṇī
47. Palādinī
48. Yamabhaginī
49. Sūryaputrī
50. Śītalā
51. Kṛshṇapāśā
52. Raktākshī

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53. Kālarātri
54. Ākāśī
55. Sṛshṭinī
56. Jayā
57. Vijayā
58. Dhūmravarṇī
59. Vāgīśvarī
60. Kātyāyanī
61. Agnihotrī
62. Chakreśvarī
63. Mahāmbikā
64. Īśvarī

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APPENDIX G

LIST OF YOGINĪS IN THE *HINDĪ-VIŚVA-KOŚA*

1. Nārāyaṇī
2. Gaurī
3. Śākambharī
4. Bhīmā
5. Raktadantikā
6. Bhṛāmarī
7. Pārvatī
8. Durgā
9. Kātyāyanī
10. Mahādevī
11. Chaṇḍaghaṇṭā
12. Mahāvidyā
13. Mahātapā
14. Sāvitrī
15. Brahmavādinī
16. Bhadrakālī
17. Viśālākshī
18. Rudrāṇī
19. Kṛshṇa-piṅgalā
20. Agnijvālā
21. Raudramukhī
22. Kālarātri
23. Tapasvinī
24. Meghasvanā
25. Sahatrākshī
26. Vishṇumāyā
27. Jalodarī
28. Mahodarī
29. Muktakeśī
30. Ghorarūpā
31. Mahābalā
32. Śruti
33. Smṛti
34. Dhṛti
35. Tushṭi
36. Pushṭi
37. Medhā
38. Vidyā
39. Lakshmī
40. Sarasvatī
41. Aparṇā
42. Ambikā
43. Yoginī
44. Ḍākinī
45. Śākinī
46. Hāriṇī
47. Lākinī
48. Hākinī
49. Tṛḍaśeśvarī
50. Mahāshashṭhī
51. Sarvamaṅgalā
52. Lajjā

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53. Kauśikī
54. Brahmāṇī
55. Māheśvarī
56. Kaumārī
57. Vaishṇavī
58. Aindrī
59. Nārasiṁhī
60. Vārāhī
61. Chāmuṇḍā
62. Śivadūtī
63. Vishṇupriyā
64. Mātṛkā

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APPENDIX H

LIST OF YOGINĪS

1. Brahmāṇī
2. Kumārī
3. Vārāhī
4. Saṅkarī
5. Rudrāṇī
6. Kiṅkālī
7. Karālī
8. Kālī
9. Mahākālī
10. Chāmuṇḍā
11. Jvālāmukhī
12. Kāmākshā
13. Bhadrakālī
14. Durgā
15. Ambikā
16. Lalitā
17. Goravī
18. Sumaṅgalā
19. Rohiṇī
20. Kapilā
21. Sūlakarā
22. Kūḍalanī
23. Tripurā
24. Kurakulyā
25. Bhairavī
26. Champāvatī
27. Nārasiṁhī
28. Nirañjanā
29. Hemavatī
30. Pretāsanā
31. Īśvarī
32. Veśāṁnarī
33. VAINĀYAKĪ
34. Yamaghaṇṭā
35. Sarasvatī
36. Totilā
37. Veṁsanavī
38. Vaṁdī
39. Saṁshanī
40. Padmanī
41. Chitraṇī
42. Vāruṇī
43. Jamabhaganī
44. Susītalā
45. Sūryaputrī
46. Kṛshṇavārāhī
47. Raktākshī
48. Kālarātri
49. Ākāsī
50. Śreshṭhanī
51. Jayā
52. Vijayā
53. Imavatī
54. Vāgeśvarī

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55. Kātyāyanī
56. Agnihotrī
57. Chakreśvarī
58. Mahāvidyā
59. Īśānī
60. Bhavānī
61. Bhuvaneśvarī
62. Chakreśvarī
63. Moharātrī (Mahārātī)
64. Thī(Ghī)Devī

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF YOGINĪS

1. Divyājoginī
2. Mahājoginī
3. Siddhajoginī
4. Yugeśvarī (Janeśvarī)
5. Pretākshī
6. Ḍākinī
7. Kālī
8. Kālarātri
9. Niśācharī
10. Klīṅkārī
11. Siddhivaitālī
12. Hṛīṅkārī
13. Bhūtaḍāmā
14. Ūrdhvakeśī
15. Virupākshī
16. Raktākshī
17. Narabhojanī
18. Phūtkārī
19. Vīrabhadrākshī
20. Dhrubhākshī
21. Kalahapriyā
22. Rākshasī
23. Ghoraraktākshī
24. Viraktākshī
25. Bhayaṅkarī
26. Vīrī
27. Kumārī
28. Chaṇḍikā
29. Virāhī
30. Muṇḍadhāriṇī
31. Bhairavī
32. Vajraṇī
33. Krodhāye
34. Durmukhī
35. Pretavāhinī
36. Kaṅṭakī
37. Lamboshṭī
38. Mālinī
39. Mantrayoginī
40. Kālākshī
41. Mohinī
42. Chakrī
43. Kaṅkālī
44. Bhuvaneśvarī
45. Kuṇḍalī
46. Mālinī
47. Lakshmī
48. Dhanadurī
49. Karālī
50. Kauśikī
51. Bhadrāṇī
52. Vyāghraṇī
53. Yakshāyai

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54. Yakshaṇī
55. Kumārī
56. Yantravāhinī
57. Viśālī
58. Kāmākshī
59. Vishahāriṇī
60. Dvījaṭī
61. Vikaṭī
62. Dhorāyai
63. Kapālī
64. Vishalāṅgulī

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APPENDIX J

LIST OF YOGINĪS

1. Kālī
2. Karālī
3. Īśvarī
4. Susāmālā
5. Diyayogī
6. Mahāyogī
7. Vāruṇī
8. Brahmāṇī
9. Ambikā
10. Durgā
11. Jayā
12. Vijayā
13. Dhūmavatī
14. Kāmeśvarī
15. Chāmuṇḍā
16. Mahākālī
17. Chitraṇī
18. Vāruṇī
19. Kurukullā
20. Kapilā
21. Rohiṇī
22. Sumaṅgalā
23. Vārāhī
24. Raktākshī
25. VAINĀYAKĪ
26. Yamaghaṇṭā
27. Vaiśvānarī
28. Pretanāśā
29. Hemakāntā
30. Nirajanī
31. Saṅkhanī
32. Padmanī
33. Chandrāvatī
34. Nāharasiṁhī
35. Chaṇḍī
36. Sautilā
37. Sarasvatī
38. Harasiddhi
39. Vaiśvanī
40. Īśānī
41. Lalitā
42. Gaurī
43. Sūryaputrī
44. Pemabhaganī
45. Vanadevī
46. Nārāyaṇī
47. Bhairavī
48. Bhadrāvatī
49. Agnihotrī
50. Kātyāyanī
51. Jvālāmukhī
52. Kāmākshī
53. Kapālinī
54. Bhadrakālī

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55. Śreshṭhinī
56. Kālarātri
57. Yugeśvarī
58. Siddhi
59. Kumārī
60. Saṅkarī
61. Indrāṇī
62. Hṛīṅkālī
63. Mahāvidyā
64. Chakreśvarī

Appendices C to J are based on Śrī A.C. Nahta's article on *Chaunsaṭha-Yoginīs* published in *Śodha Patrikā*, Udaipur, September-October 1962.

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APPENDIX K

LIST OF INSCRIBED YOGINĪ SCULPTURES IN THE CHAUNSAṬHA-YOGINĪ TEMPLE AT BHERAGHAT (JABALPUR)

1. Śrī-Thakiṇi
2. Śrī-Vīrēndrī
3. Śrī-Phaṇendrī
4. Śrī-Kshatra-dharmiṇī
5. Śrī-Śatanusaṁvarā
6. Śrī-Bhīshaṇī
7. Śrī-Vaishṇavī
8. Śrī-Ḍhaḍhḍharī
9. Śrī-Ghaṁṭālī
10. Śrī-Thīkkiṇī
11. Śrī-Jahā
12. Śrī-Raṅgiṇī
13. Śrī-Darppahārī
14. Śrī-Vaṁdhaṇī
15. Śrī-Ḍākinī
16. Śrī-Jāhṇavī
17. Śrī-Gāṁdhārī
18. Śrī-Ṛtshamādā
19. Śrī-Dēḍḍarī
20. Śrī-Lampaṭā
21. Śrī-Nālinī
22. Śrī-Uttālā
23. Śrī-Jha(?)ṅginī
24. Śrī-Indrāṇī (?)
25. Śrī-Ga(?)hanī
26. Śrī-Indrajālī
27. Śrī-Ṭhāṇī
28. Śrī-Īśvarī
29. Śrī-Haṁsinī
30. Śrī-Padmahaṁsā
31. Śrī-Tapanī
32. Śrī-Ṭakārī
33. Śrī-Māhēśvarī
34. Śrī-Brahmāṇī
35. ŚRĪ-AIṄGIṆĪ
36. Śrī-Chaṇḍikā
37. Śrī-Ajitā
38. Śrī-Chhattra-Saṁvarā
39. Śrī-Riḍhālīdēvī
40. Śrī-Māsa(?)-varddhanī
41. Śrī-Aḥkhalā
42. Śrī-Piṁgalā
43. Śrī-Shaṇḍinī
44. Śrī-Teraṁvā
45. Śrī-Nīlaḍaṁvarā
46. Śrī-Pāṁḍavī
47. Śrī-Yamunā

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48. Śrī-Auḍārā
49. Śrī-Jāṁvavī
50. Śrī-Khēmakhī
51. Śrī-Thirachittā
52. Śrī-Sarvvotōmukhī
53. Śrī-Maṁdōdarī
54. Śrī-Vārāhī
55. Śrī-Vībhatsā
56. Śrī-Nandinī
57. Śrī-Erūḍī
58. Śrī-Aṁtakārī
59. Śrī-Raṇājirā
60. Śrī-Kāmadā
61. Śrī-Rūpiṇī
62. Śrī-Siṁhā Siṁha

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APPENDIX L

LIST OF INSCRIBED YOGINĪ SCULPTURES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, GWALIOR

1.	159	Maghālī	from Naresar (Morena)
2.	160	Jāmyā	" "
3.	161	Nīvaū	" "
4.	162	Yoginī	" "
5.	163	Bhayāvatī	" "
6.	164	Kamalāsanā	" "
7.	165	Kauberī	" "
8.	166	Vaishṇavī	" "
9.	167	Viarā	" "
10.	168	Vikanaṭaṅjā	" "
11.	169	Vāruṇī	" "
12.	170	Indrāṇī	" "
13.	171	Umā	" "
14.	172	Charā	" "

I am thankful to Śrī H.S. Chaturvedi, Assistant Curator, Gwalior Museum for supplying this information.

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APPENDIX M

LIST OF INSCRIBED YOGINĪ SCULPTURES IN THE STATE MUSEUM, DHUBELA

1.	Śrī Jauti	from	Gurgi
2.	Śrī Bhadrī	,,	,,
3.	Śrī Itaralā	,,	,,
4.	Śrī Bhā	,,	,,
5.	Śrī Taralā	,,	Shahdol
6.	Śrī Tāraṇī	,,	,,
7.	Śrī Bhā (Nava)	,,	,,
8.	Śrī Bāṇa-prabhā	,,	,,
9.	Ramaṇī	,,	,,
10.	Kṛshṇa-Bhagavatī	,,	,,
11.	Vāsavā	,,	,,
12.	Kapālinī	,,	,,

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APPENDIX N

ACCOUNT OF THE WORSHIP OF SIXTY-FOUR YOGINĪS FROM THE *ĀKHYĀNAKAMAṆIKOŚA* OF ĀCHĀRYA NEMICHANDRA

मयणमहागहगहिओ परव्वसो सव्वहा वि संजाओ ।
पहसइ गायइ रोयइ एमेव य सो परिब्भमइ ।।
तो मंति-मंडलेसर-सांमतप्पभिइपउरजणनियरो ।
अवलोइय नरनाहं तदवत्थं आउलीहूओ ।।
तो तेण विज्जवाइय-जोइसिया आणिया नरिंदपुरो ।
जंपंति य विज्जा उब्भसन्निवाओ इमो जाओ ।।
ओयरयमज्झयारे कुणह नरिंदं निवायठाणम्मि ।
पिहिऊण दुवाराइं विहेह पच्छायणपयत्तं ।।
पियउ तहा वट्टजलं कुणउ तओ लंघणाणि नरनाहो ।
जह अइरेण वि जायइ निरूयसरीरो पडुयकरणो ।।
जंपंति वाइया पुण गहिओ राया महागहेण जओ ।
रोयइ गायइ पहसइ नियइ करालाए दिट्ठीए ।।
रइउं महीए मंडलयमुब्भडं भूयनासणं जंतं ।
आलिहिऊणं कणवीरकुसुमनियरेण पूएउं ।।
पूयप्फल-पत्त-कणिक्क-दीवियापमुहपूयउवगरणं ।
पत्तेयं चउसट्ठि काउं तह जोइणीपीढं ।।
अवयारिऊण उज्झन्तगुग्गुलुच्छलियधूमगंधम्मि ।
मंडलए उववेसिय नरनाहं परममंतेहिं ।।
सरसवुडिल्लयअक्खयपरिपूरियमुट्ठिविहियघाएहिं ।
अच्छोडियो समाणो पउणीहोही न संदेहो ।।
जोइसिया वि हु एवं वयंति संतीए समइय दोसोऽयं ।
गहपूयणं च सेयं बारसिदाणं च सुपसत्थं ।।
एत्थंतरम्मि पत्तो रइकेली रायपायनमणत्थं ।
दट्ठूण तहावत्थं नरेसरं पणमिउं भणइ ।।

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किं देव ! तुज्झ दुक्खं मह कहसु करोमि तस्स पडियारं ।
एवं वुत्तो वि न जाव किंपि जंपइ तओ तेण ।।
नायं निउणत्तणओ रोहिणिरमणीए एस नरनाहो ।
अवहरियमणो जह मुयइ उण्ह-अइदीहरुस्सासे ।।
तो भणियं नूणं पहु ! तुज्झ मणं कामिणीए अवहरियं ।
ता मज्झ कहसु तं झत्ति जेण एत्थेव आणेमि ।।
तं निसुणिउं नरिंदेण जपियं किह तए इमं नायं ? ।
भणियं च तेण तुह देव ! दिट्ठिसवियारदंसणओ ।।
वंकभणियाणि कत्तो कत्तो अद्धच्छिपेच्छियाइं च ।
ऊससियं पि मुणिज्जइ छइल्लजणसंकुले गामे ।।
सोऊण तयं तो भणइ नरवई हिययनिव्विसेसस्स ।
तुज्झ कहिज्जइ सव्वं पि गुज्झमेयं जओ भणियं ।।
जणणीए जणयस्स व भइणीए भाउणो वि भज्जाए ।
अवि होज्ज अकहणीयं न उ सुहिणो नेहसारस्स ।।

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APPENDIX O

MEDITATIVE CONCEPT OF SIXTY-FOUR YOGINĪS FROM THE *ŚRĪTATTVANIDHI* OF ŚRĪ MUMUḌḌI KṚSHṆA RĀJA OḌYĀRA

१३५ अथ चतुष्षष्टियोगिनीध्यानम् —

अष्टाष्टकं प्रवक्ष्यामि योगिनीनां समासतः ।
आद्यष्टकं सुवर्णाभं त्रिशूलं डमरुं तथा ॥१
पाश चासिं दधानं तद् ध्यायेत् सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरम् ।
अथ द्वितीयकं ध्यायेद् अक्षमालालामथांकुशम् ॥२
दधानं पुस्तकं वीणां सुश्वेतं मणिभूषणम् ।
ज्वालां शक्तिं गदां कुन्तं दधानं नीलवर्णकम् ॥३
ध्यायेत्तृयीयं शुभदमष्टकं शुभलक्षणम् ।
खड्गं खेटं पट्टिशं च दधानं परशुं तथा ॥४
धूम्रवर्णं चतुर्थं तद ध्यायेदष्टकमादरात् ।
कुन्तं खेटं च परिघं भिन्दिपालं तथैव च ॥५
पंचमाष्टकमेतद्धि श्वेतं स्यात् सुमनोहरम् ।
पीतं षष्ठमृषीरक्तमष्टमं च तटित्प्रभम् ॥६
कुन्तादिकसमं प्रोक्तं षडारभ्याष्टमान्तकम् ।
दिव्ययोगा महायोगा सिद्धयोगा महेश्वरी ॥७
पिशाचिनी डाकिनी च कालरात्री निशाचरी ।
कंकाली रौद्रवेताली हुंकारी भुवनेश्वरी ॥८
ऊर्ध्वकेशी विरूपाक्षी शुष्कांगी नरभोजिनी ।
फट्कारी वीरभद्रा च धूम्राक्षी कलहप्रिया ॥९
रक्ताक्षी राक्षसी घोरा विश्वरूपा भयंकरी ।
कामाक्षी चोग्रचामुण्डा भीषणा त्रिपुरान्तका ॥१०
वीरकौमारिका चंडी वाराही मुण्डधारिणी ।
भैरवी हस्तिनी क्रोध-दुर्मुखी प्रेतवाहिनी ॥११

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खट्वाङ्गदीर्घलम्बोष्ठी मालतीमंत्रयोगिनी ।
अस्थिनी चक्रिणी ग्राहा कंकाली भुवनेश्वरी ।।१२
कंटकी काटकी शुभ्रा क्रियादूती करालिनी ।
शंखिनी पद्मिनी क्षीराह्यसधा च प्रहारिणी ।।१३
लक्ष्मीश्च कामुकी लोला काकदृष्टिरधोमुखी ।
धूर्जटी मालिनी घोरा कपाली विषभोजिनी ।।१४
चतुषष्टिः समाख्याता योगिन्यो वरसिद्धिदाः ।६४

p. 29 (*Rudrayāmala*)

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POSTSCRIPT

V.S. Vakankar of Vikram University, Ujjain has informed me recently that a seated image of Vaināyakī belonging to the Paramāra period, 10th century A.D., is kept at Hinglajgarh, district Mandsaur (Madhya Pradesh). It may be noted that Hinglajgarh was an important centre of *devī* worship during the early mediaeval period. Several Paramāra sculptures of the goddess in her various benign and terrific forms discovered from this site are now preserved in Indore Museum, Birla Museum and the State Museum at Bhopal.

Another image of Vaināyakī is carved on a temple at Madurai in Tamil Nadu (fig. 40). The *devī* holds a lotus-bud in her raised right hand and probably a bowl of sweet-balls in the left. She wears a crown, usual jewellery and also a breast-band (*kucha-bandha*) like the images of Śrīdevī and Rukmiṇī from south India. Interestingly in this sculpture, too, the lower-half of the goddess is that of a *vyāla*, as also shown in the images from Chidambaram (fig. 24) and Palani (fig. 25). In spite of its stiff modelling, the image, which is under worship, can be regarded as a fine example of the Nāyaka period, 17th century A.D.

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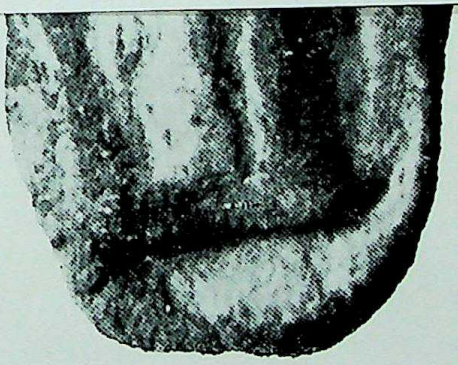
1. Elephant-headed Goddess,
1st cent. B.C. to 1st cent. A.D.
Rairh, Jaipur, Rajasthan.

ERRATA

Fig. 12 *for* "10 cent. A.D." *read* "10th cent. A.D."

Fig. 24 *for* "Natarāja" *read* "Naṭarāja"

Fig. 40 *for* "vyālor" *read* "*vyāla*"



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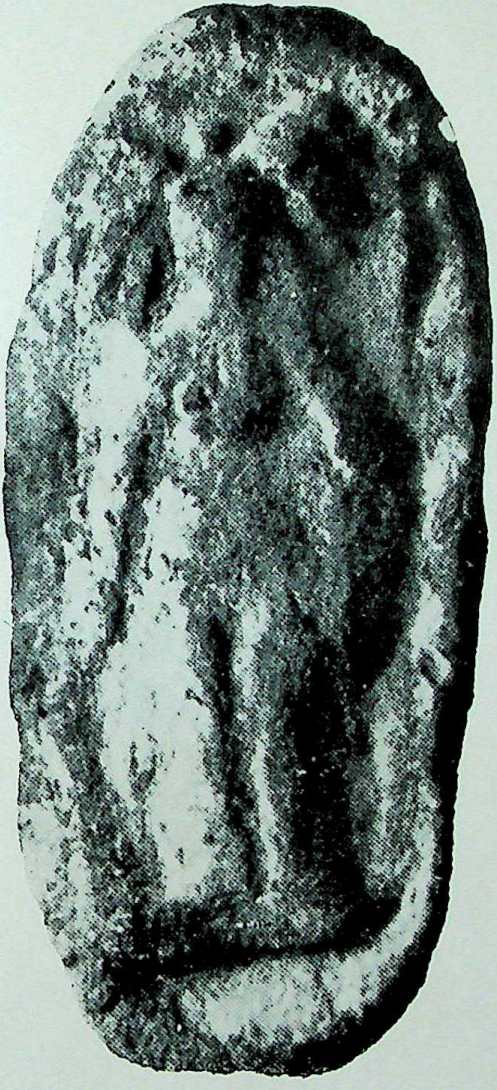
1. Elephant-headed Goddess,
   1st cent. B.C. to 1st cent. A.D.
   Rairh, Jaipur, Rajasthan.



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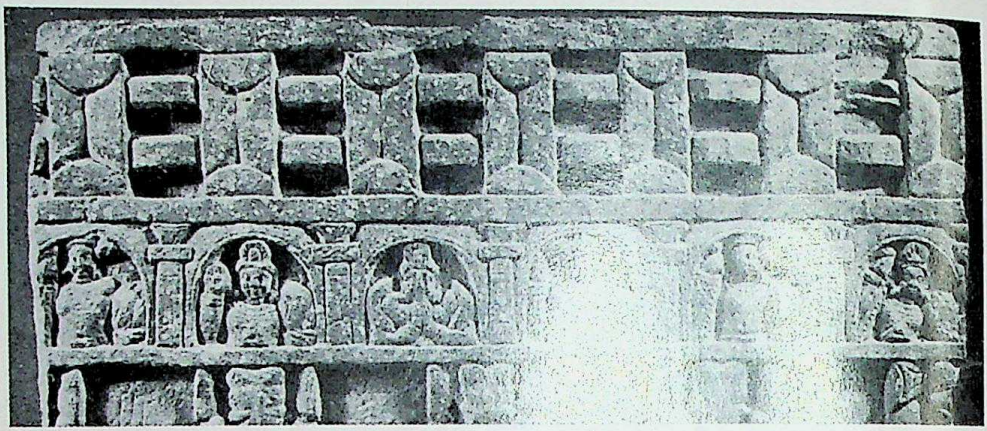
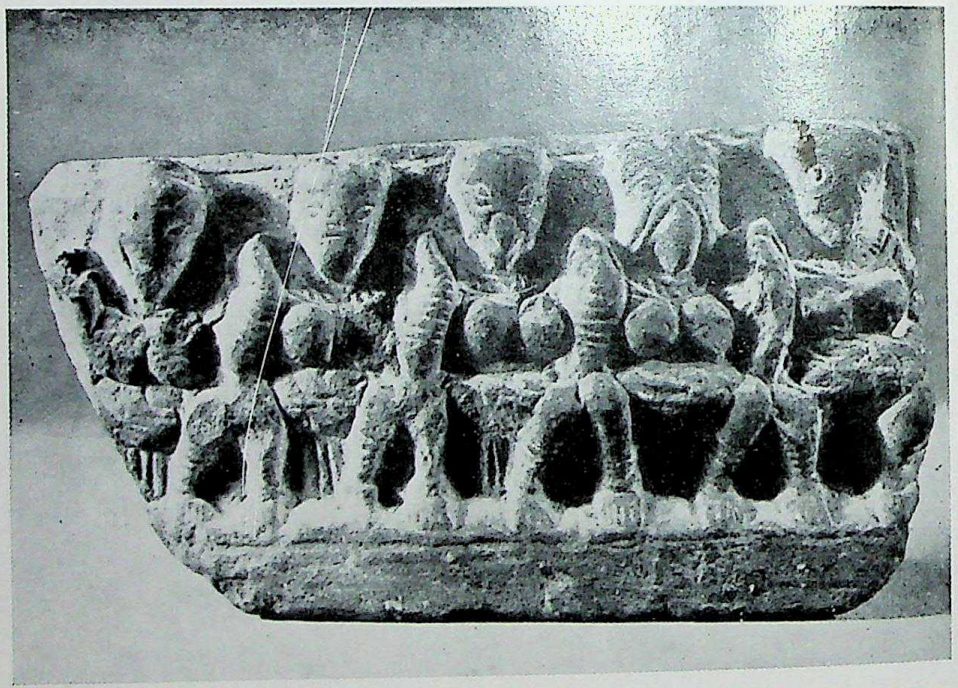
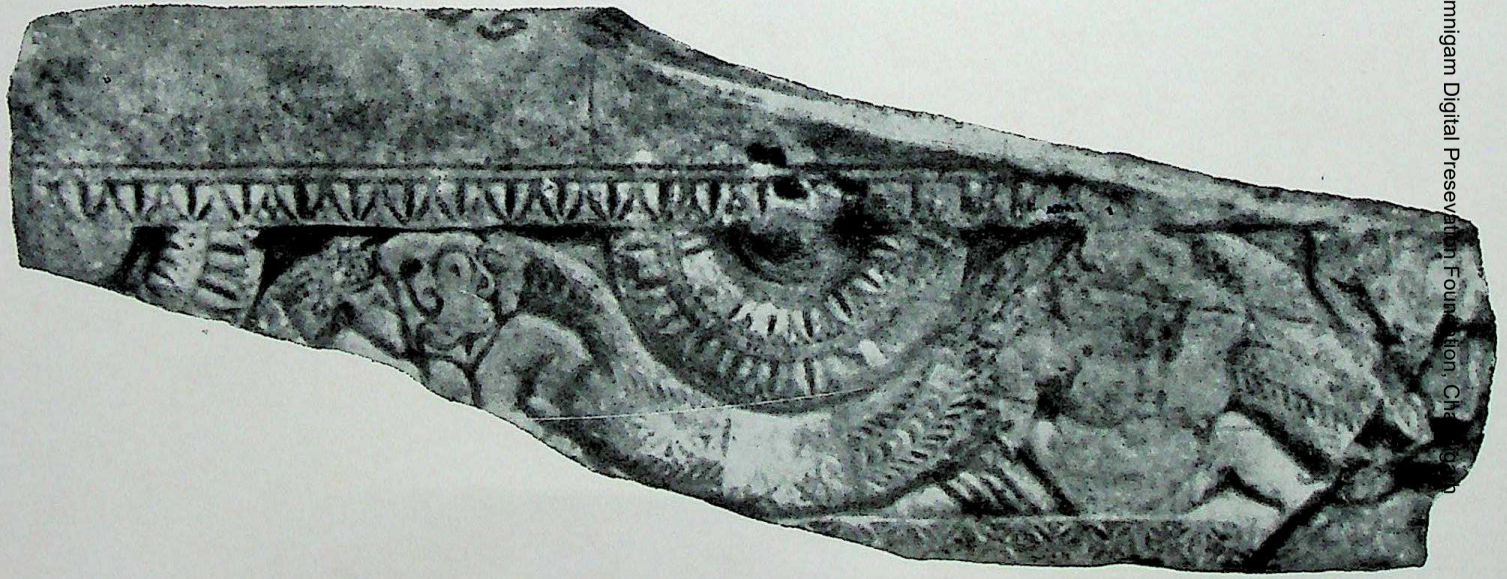
3. Elephant-headed Yakshas in the lower panel, Kushāṇa, 2nd cent. A.D. Mathura, Uttar Pradesh. Government Museum, Mathura.





2. Animal and bird-faced Mātṛkā figures, Kushāṇa, 2nd cent. A.D. Mathura, Uttar Pradesh. Government Museum, Mathura.

4. Elephant-headed Yaksha-Yakshī couple,
Śātavāhana, 2nd cent. A.D.
Amaravati, Andhra Pradesh.
Government Museum, Madras.



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5. Vaināyakī,
Gupta, 4th cent. A.D.
Mathura, Uttar Pradesh.
Government Museum, Mathura.

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6. Vināyaka,
Gupta, 5th cent. 'A.D.
Mathura, Uttar Pradesh.
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City.

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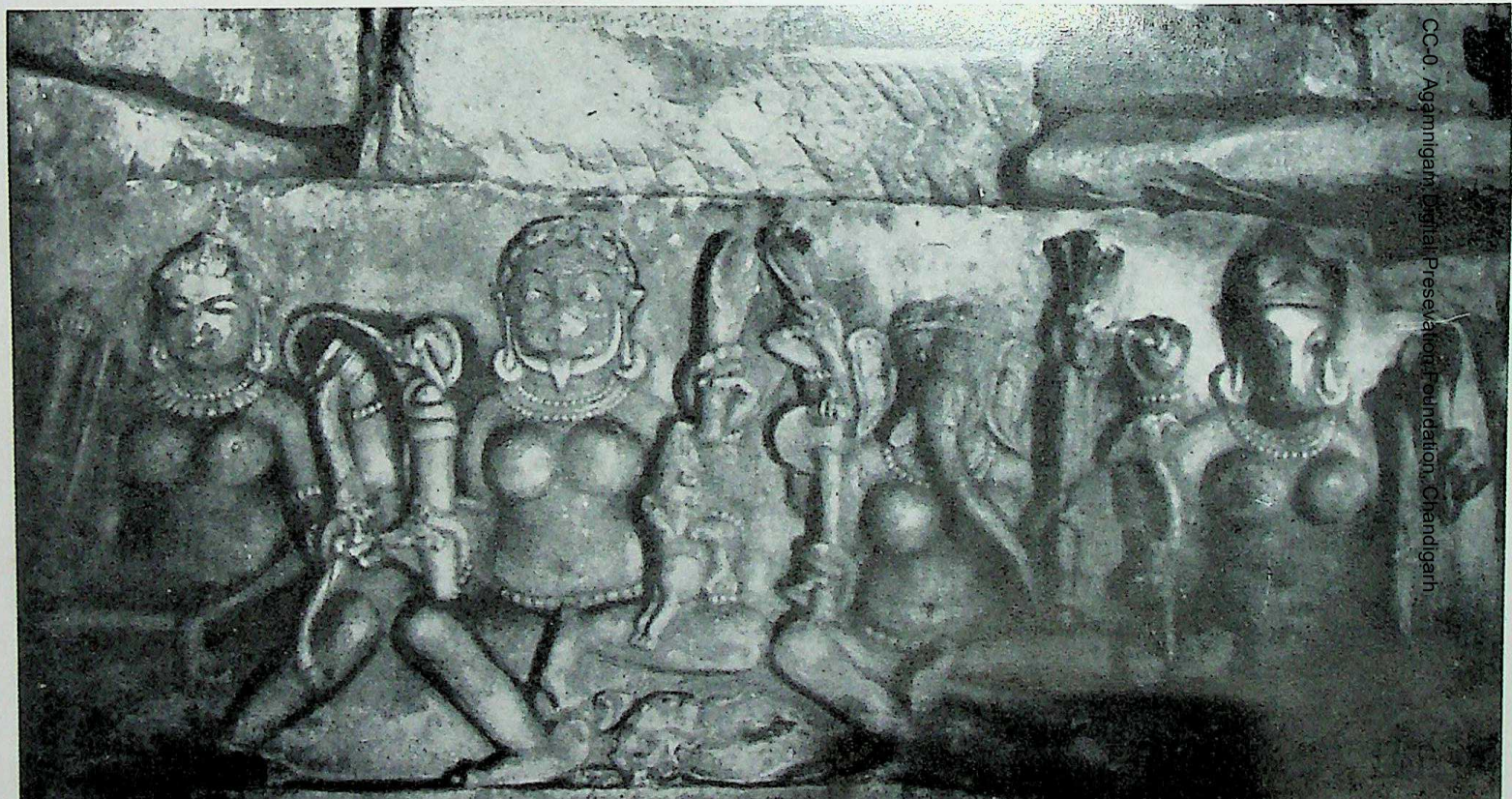
7. Vainãyakī,
Pratihāra, 9th cent. A.D.
Lohri, Banda, Uttar Pradesh.

8. Indrāṇī,
Pratihāra, c. 8th cent. A.D.
Suhania, Morena, Madhya Pradesh. Archaeological Museum, Gwalior.

9. Vaishnavi of Chausar Yoginīs, Pratihāra, 10th cent. A.D. Rikhian, Banda, Uttar Pradesh.



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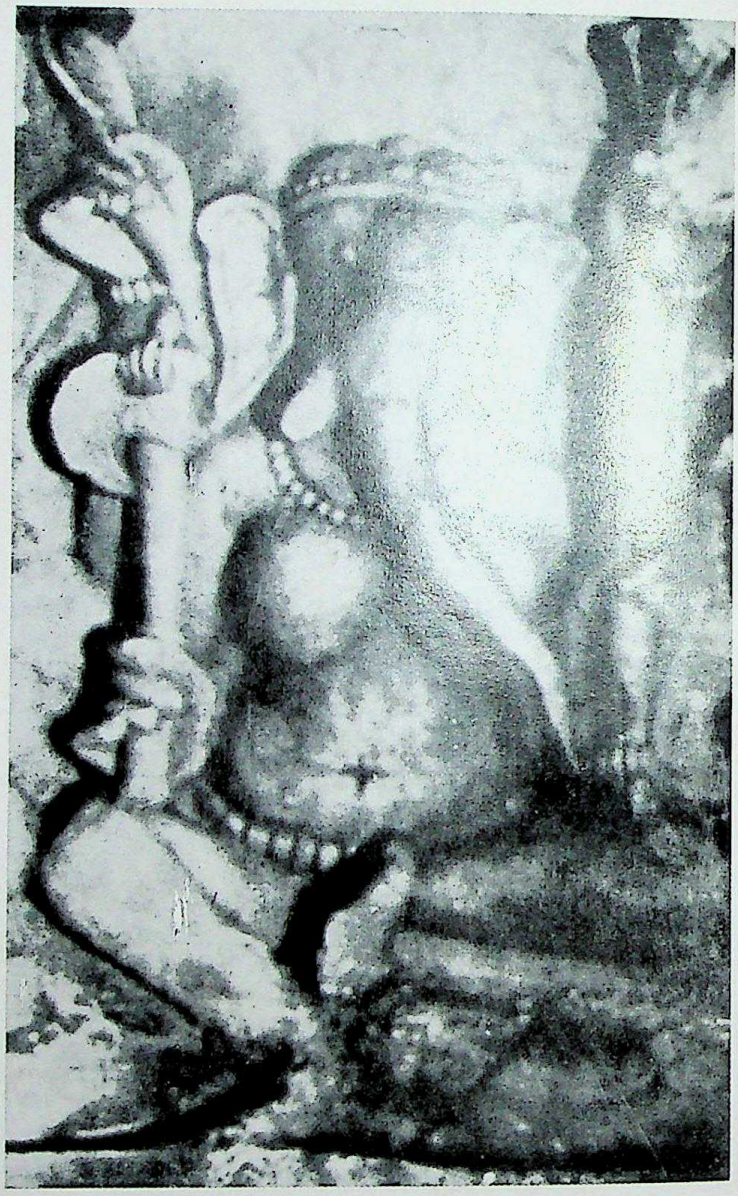
10. Close-up of Vainãyakī, Pratihāra, 10th cent. A.D. Rikhian, U.P.



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11. Vaināyakī,
Pratihāra, 10th cent. A.D.
Suhania, Morena, Madhya Pradesh.
Archaeological Museum, Gwalior.

13. Dancing Vainâyakî,
Chandella, 10th cent. A.D.
Tikamgarh, Madhya Pradesh.

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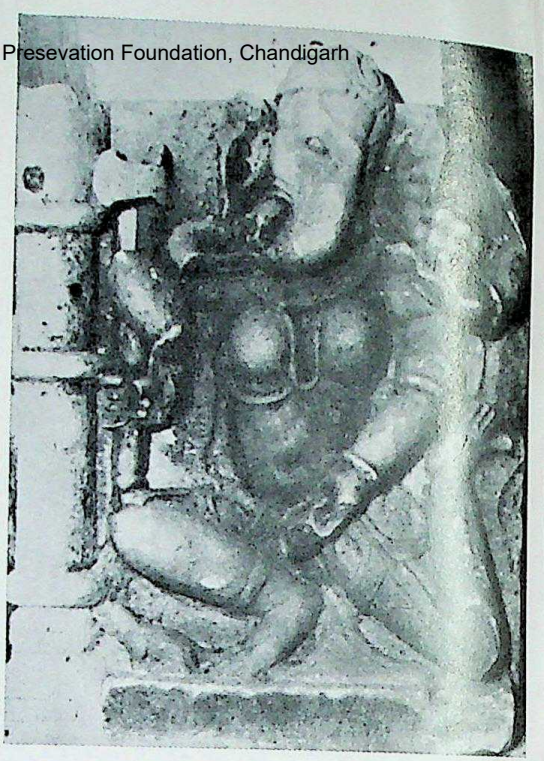

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12. Vainâyakî,
Chauhân, 10 cent. A.D.
Harshanatha, Sikar,
Rajasthan.

→

14. Vainâyakî,
Paramâra, 10th cent.
A.D. Hinglajgarh,
Mandsor, Madhya
Pradesh. Birla Museum,
Bhopal.

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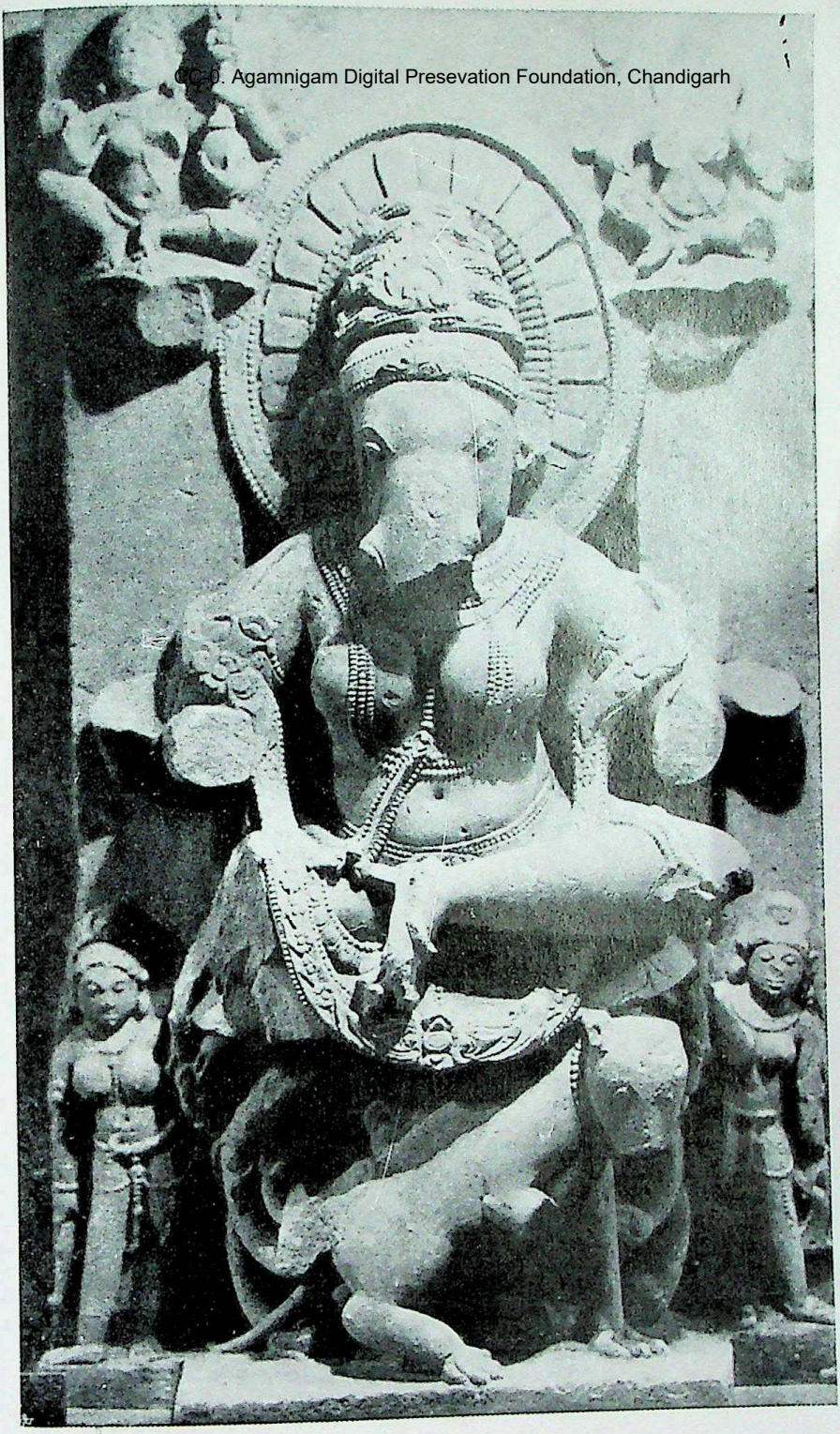

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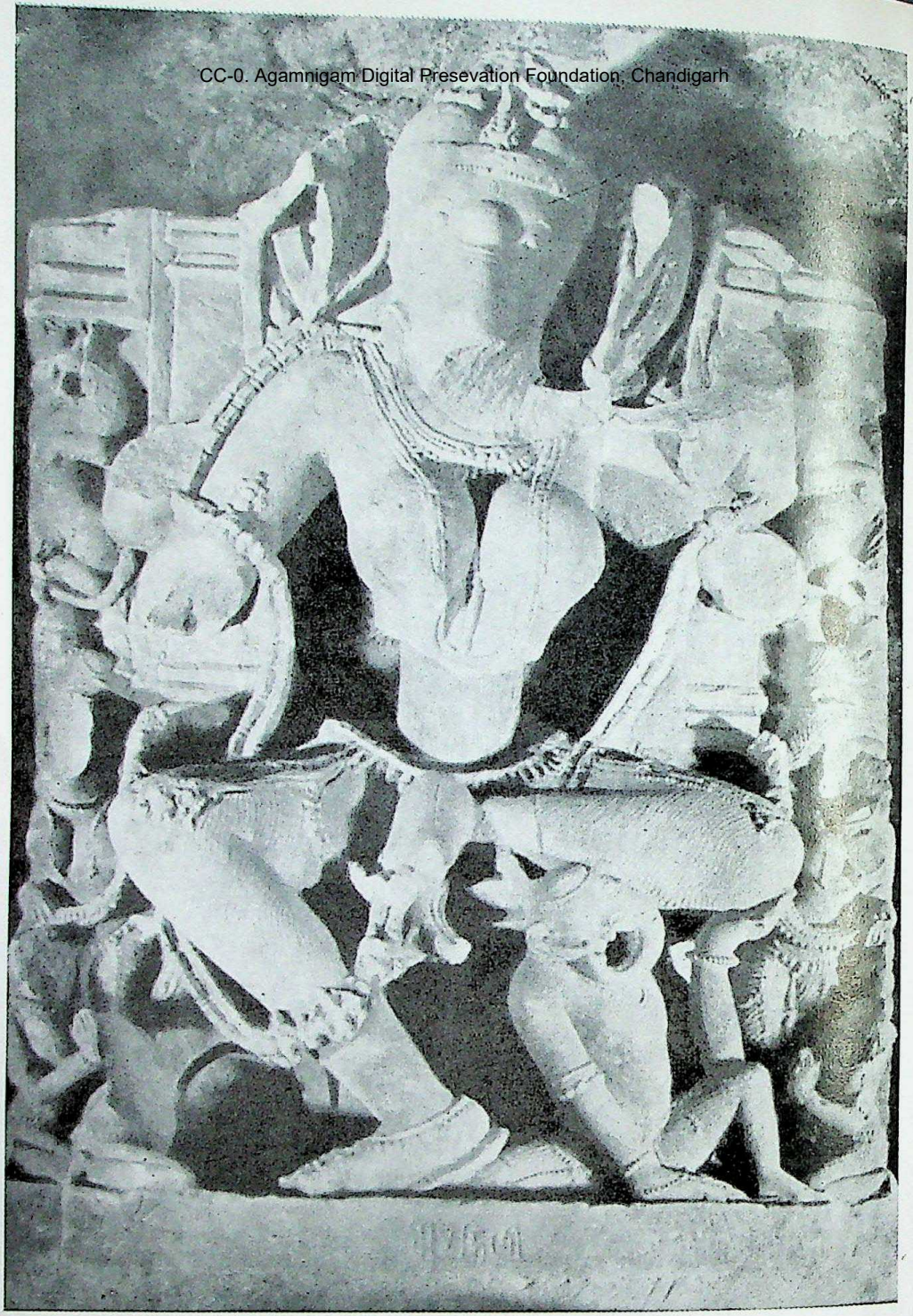

15. Vaināyakī (Śrī-Aiṅgiṇī), Chedi, 11th cent. A.D.
Chaunsaṭha-Yoginī temple, Bheraghat, Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh.

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16. Śrī Vṛshabhā with Vaināyakī, Chedi, 10th cent. A.D. Satna, Madhya Pradesh. Indian Museum, Calcutta.

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17. Close-up of Vainayaki
Chedi, 10th cent. A.D.
Satna, Madhya Pradesh.
Indian Museum, Calcutta.

18. Vainayakī Eastern Gaṅga, 10th cent .A.D. Chaunsaṭha-Yoginī temple, Hirapur, Orissa. →

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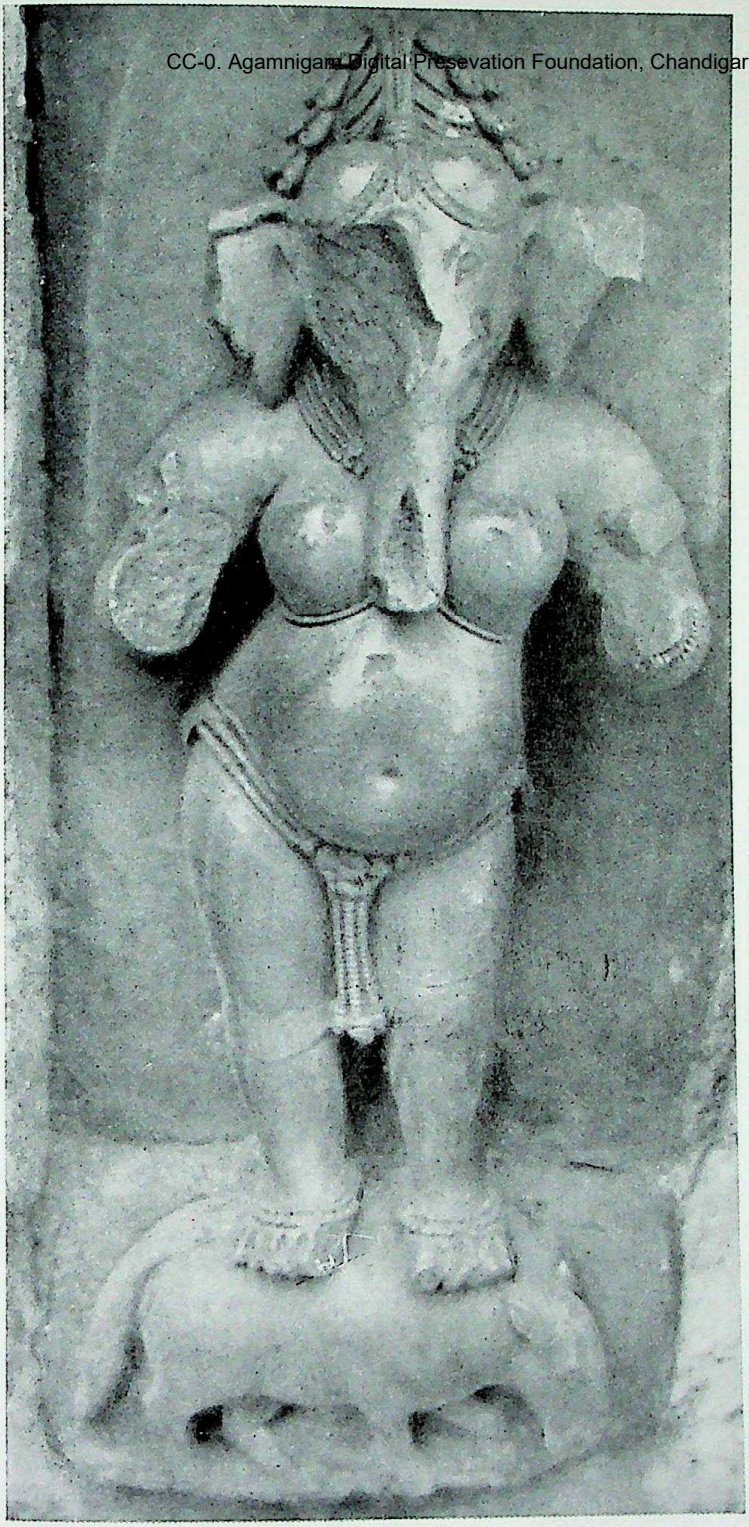

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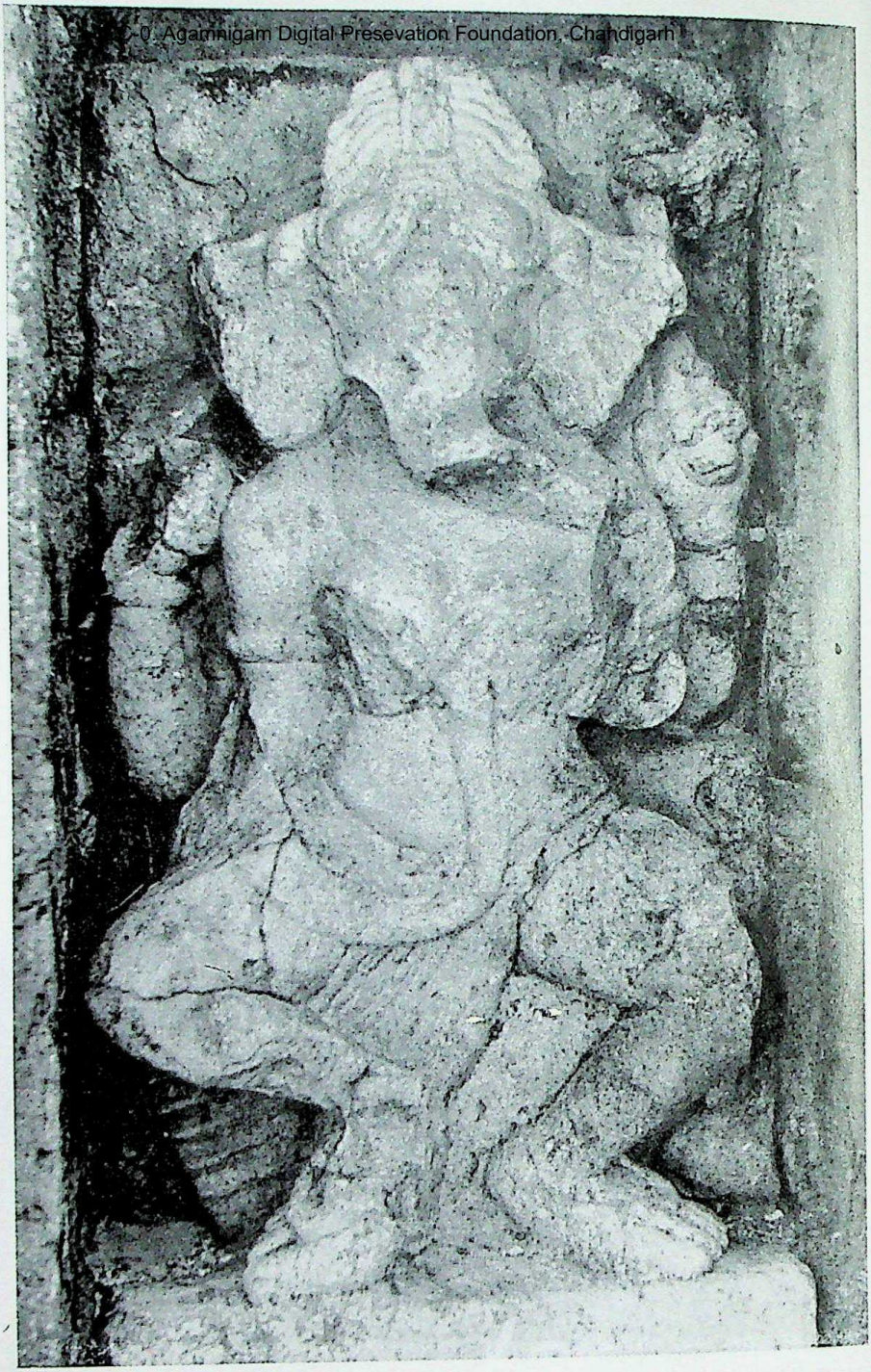

19. Dancing Vaināyakī,
Eastern Gaṅga, 10th cent. A.D.
Chaunsaṭha-Yoginī temple,
Ranipur-Jhariyal, Orissa.

9. Dancing Vināyaka,
Guhila, 10th cent. A.D.
Ambikā-Mātā temple,
Jagat, Udaipur, Rājasthān.

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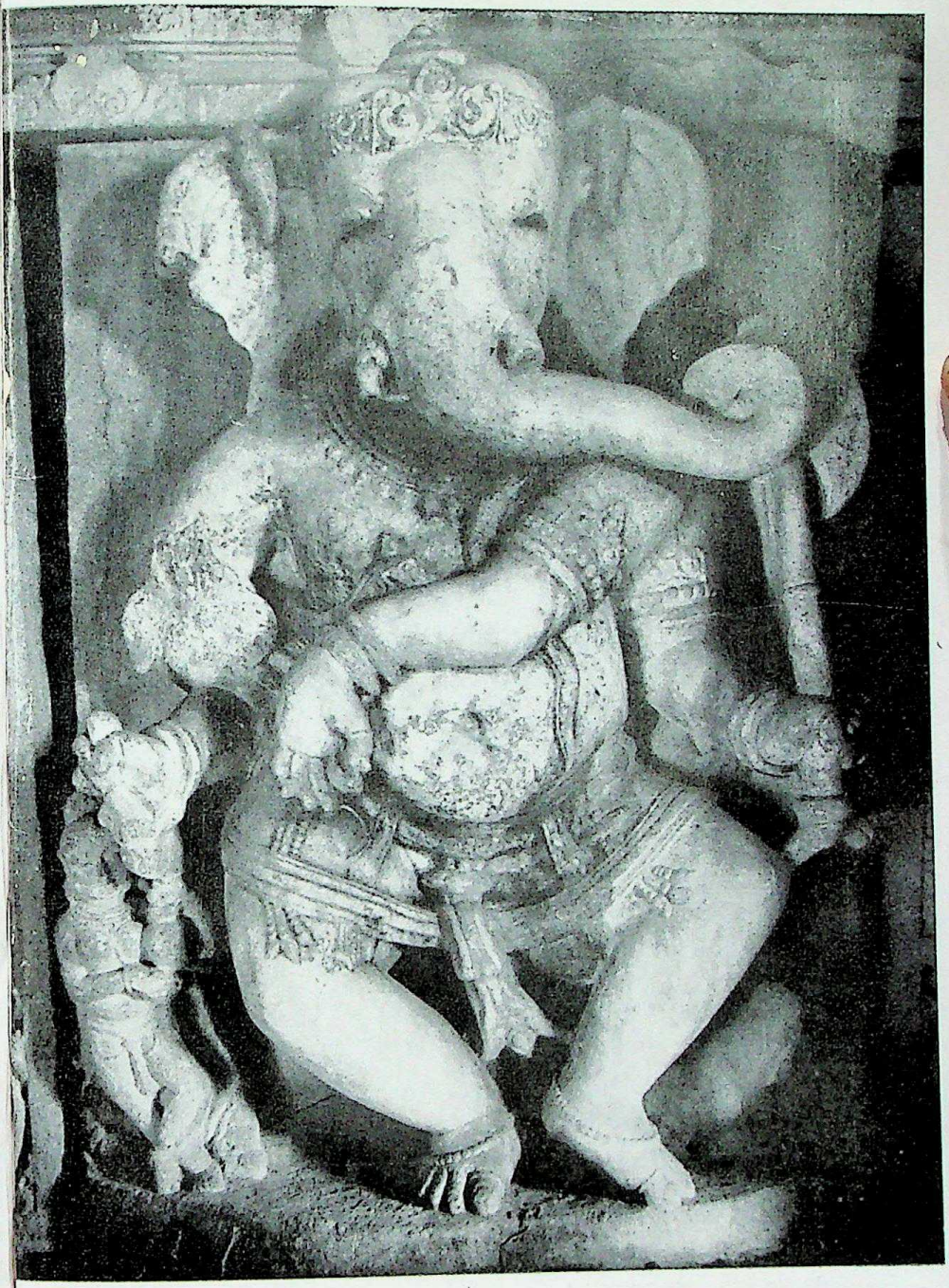

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21. Vaināyakī,
Pāla, 11th cent. A.D.
Giriyek, Bihar.
Indian Museum, Calcutta.

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22. Vainayakī,
Chaulukya, 12th cent. A.D.
Patan, Mehsana, Gujarat.
Site Museum, Sahasralinga Talava.

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23. Vainayakī,
Pāla, 12th cent. A.D.
Tāmreśvarī temple,
Sadiya, Assam.

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24. Vainãyakī with lower part of a vyãla, Vijayanagara, c. 16th cent. A.D. Śrī Natarãja temple, Chidambaram, Tamil Naḍu.

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25. Vainãyakī with lower part of a *vyāla*, Nãyaka, 18th cent. A.D. Palani, Madurai, Tamil Nadu. Government Museum, Madras.

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26. Vaināyakī,
Vijayanagara, 16th cent. A.D.
Karnataka.
Chitrapur Maṭh Museum, Shirali.

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27. Vainayakī, Late Chera, 17th cent. A.D. Kerala.
Staatl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Munchen, West Germany.

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28. Side view of Vaināyakī.

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29. Back view of Vaināyakī.

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30. Vainā̄yakī,
17th cent. A.D.
Deccan.
Heras Institute, Bombay.

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31. Vainā̄yakī,
17th-18th cent. A.D.
Maharashtra.
State Museum, Lucknow.

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32. Śiva's twilight dance,
Chamba, late 18th cent. A.D.
National Museum, New Delhi.

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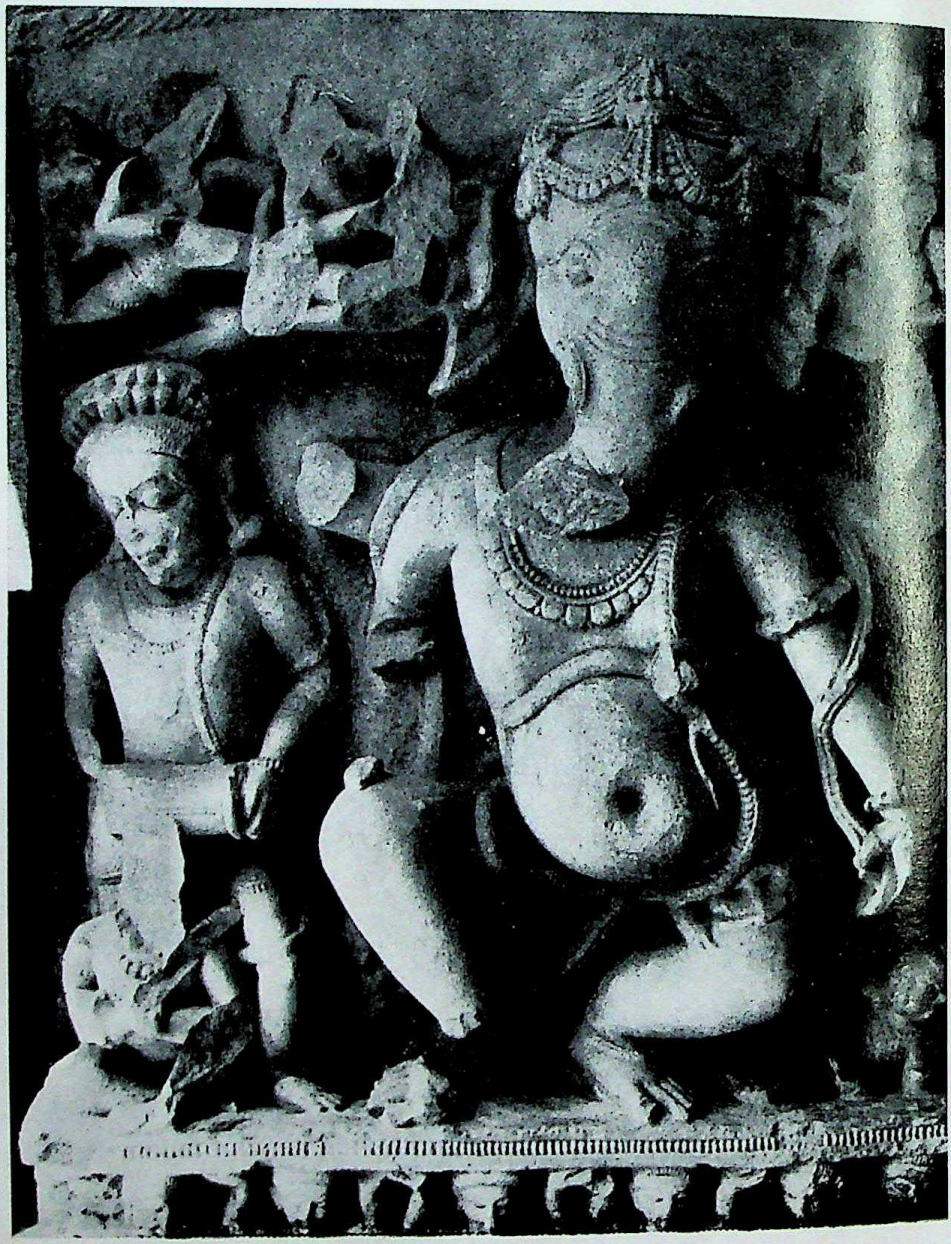
33. Dancing Vināyaka,
Pratihāra, 10th cent. A.D.
Madhya Pradesh.
Archaeological Museum, Gwalior.



34. Gaṇapatihṛdayā,
18th cent. A.D.
Nepal.
In the collection of Dr. W.Y.
Evans-Wentz.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

35. Gaṇapatihṛdayā,
1843 A.D.
Nepal.
Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

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37. Vainayakī,
10th-11th, cent, A.D.
Akhandaleśvara temple
Jajpur, Orissa.

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38. Vainayakī,
c. 14th cent. A.D.
Panjab Hills.

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40. Vainayakī with lower part of a vyālor, Nāyak, 17th cent. A.D.
Madurai, Tamil Nadu.

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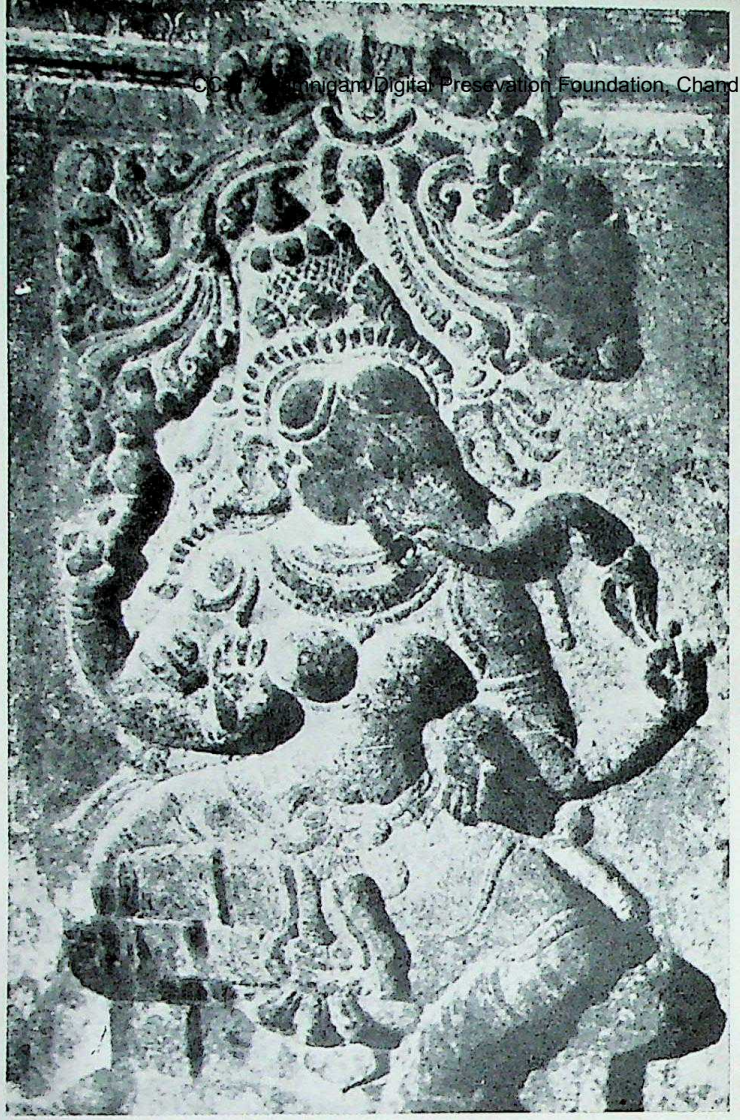

39. Vainãyakī
15th cent. A.D.
Chempakaraman Maṇḍapa,
Sthanumalaya
temple,
Suchindram,
Tamil Nadu.

36. Elephant-headed
Kinnarīs,
Pangu Pagoda,
Pagan
Museum,
Pagan.

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